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(Dr. DUIGENAN'S)
HISTORY OF THE IRISH REBELLION,

AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE LATE
REBELLION
IN
IRELAND,
AND OF THE
UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
IN THREE PARTS.

PART I. Containing an Answer to the Address of the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN to his Fellow Citizens of Dublin.

PART II. A Fair Representation of the then Political State of Ireland.

PART III. A SPEECH in the then Irish House of Commons, on the Subject of an Incorporating Union.

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BY PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.

Member of the New Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland for the City of Armagh.

A NEW EDITION.

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GENERAL
P R E F A C E,

IN this Collection of our Author's Works on the late Rebellion of Ireland, and the necessity of an incorporating Union between Great Britain and our Sister Kingdom, the Reader is not only presented with a fair Representation of the then political State of the latter, but with a complete Review of all the Pamphlets which had been formerly published on this interesting Subject, particularly one, entitled, "The Case of Ireland considered;" another, "Considerations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799;" and "The Speech of Lord Minto in the House of Peers, April 11, 1799."

A retrospect of those late disturbances and distractions which have led to the now nearer alliance of Ireland to England, must to the ruminating mind be highly satisfactory, as it affords the means of comparing the present with the past, and displays the happy effects of that remedy (*i. e.* The Union) which was so judiciously prescribed.

In

In perusing the following pages the Reader must be aware of the dates in which they were produced; consequently, the repeated terms of *Now, Present, &c.* apply to the *time of then writing*; and this having been the time of War, several *harsh expressions* must be overlooked; expressions which should have been expunged in this **NEW EDITION**, had the tenor of what followed permitted; but this intimation being judged sufficient, we have republished the whole without any variation, except a few occasional Notes.



PART I.

AN
ANSWER

TO THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN,

EX-REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN IN
PARLIAMENT,

TO HIS

FELLOW CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

BY

PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.

Thy Tongue imagineth Wickedness, and with *Lies* thou cuttest
like a sharp Razor.

Thou hast loved Unrighteousness more than Goodness, and to talk
of *Lies* more than Righteousness.

Thou hast loved to speak all words that may do hurt, *O thou false
Tongue!*

PSALM lii. Ver. 3, 4, 5.

To which are added, by Way of APPENDIX,

1. The Address of the Catholics of Dublin, to Mr. Grattan, with
his Answer, at the Meeting in Francis-street.
2. Mr. Grattan's Address to the Electors of Dublin.
3. Mr. Grattan's (supposed) Letter to Dr. Duigenan.

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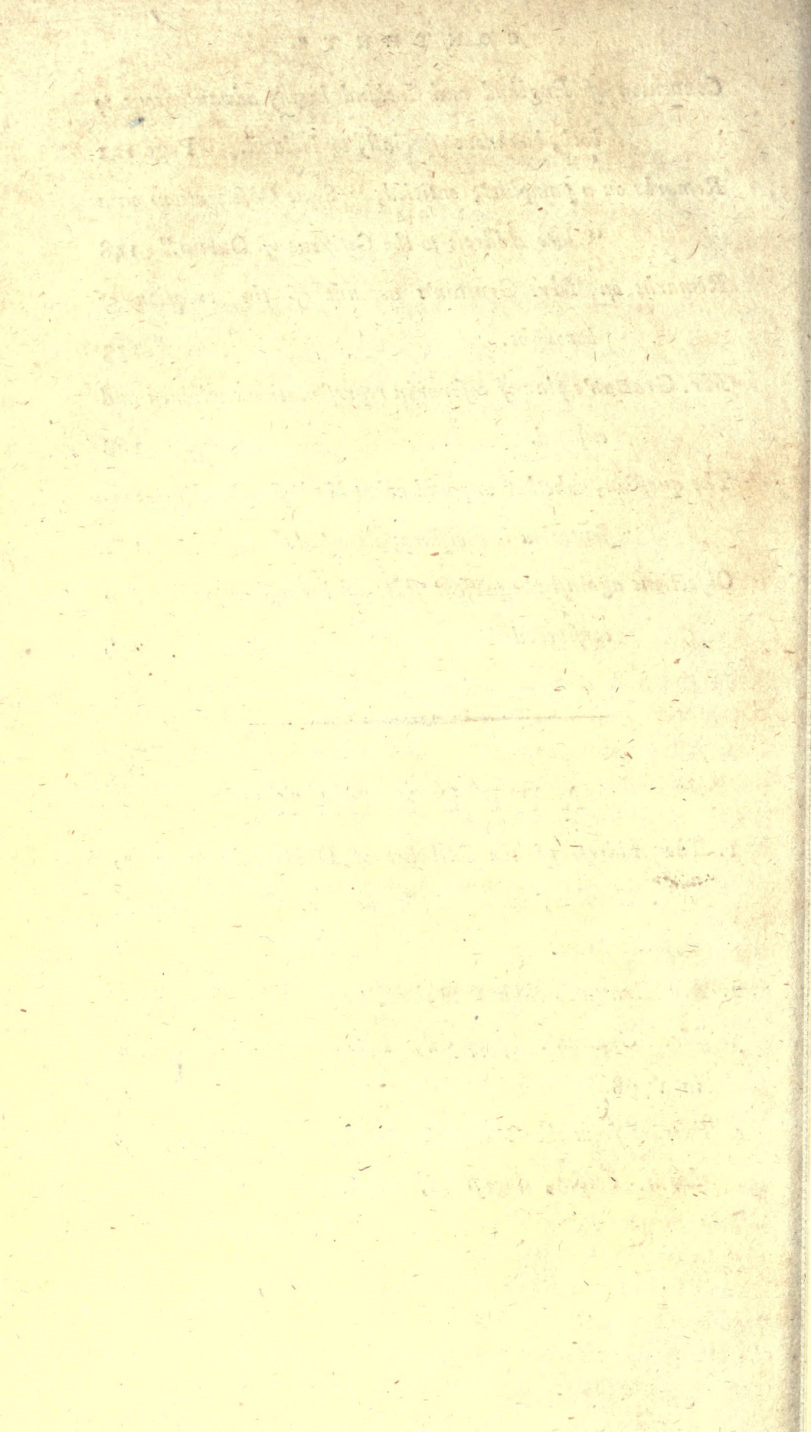
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2. *Mr. Grattan's Address to the Electors of Dublin, 1797.*
3. *Mr. Grattan's (supposed) Letter to Dr. Duigenan in 1798.*
4. *Extract from the Committee of Secrecy, of the House of Lords, Friday, August 3d, 1798.*



TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

AT the close of your parliamentary existence, the dissolution of the late Parliament of Ireland, you have thought fit to publish a letter, addressed to your fellow citizens of Dublin, stuffed with invectives which I have heard you utter in the House of Commons at the commencement of three sessions of that parliament; and prophetic denunciations of impending destruction against all your political adversaries, that is, every Protestant gentleman, of sense, honour, and spirit, in the kingdom, and every true friend of the constitution in church and state. This constitution too you have endeavoured to vilify and traduce with peculiar acrimony and malignity, and have exerted all the talents you possess to irritate and inflame the lower order of the people to resistance against lawful authority, and excite them to massacre and rebellion; thus, in your last agonies of disappointed ambition, imitating the impious and expiring tyrant in the catastrophe of a tragedy, whom the poet generally paints as expending his last breath in blasphemy, curses, and execrations.

As you have addressed this letter to your fellow citizens of Dublin, and as several positions in it might gain some credit, (at least in Great Britain, where it has been published, and industriously circulated) from the audacity of the publi-

education, people ignorant of the facts generally thinking that no man of any character would venture to vouch the truth of positions under his signature, if they were utterly groundless; and as I have the honour of being a freeman and a freeholder of the City of Dublin, and therefore one of those whom you have addressed, I have taken up my pen to answer your letter, to detect your falsehoods, to expose your misstatements, to pluck off your mask of patriotism and public spirit, and unveil to the world your projects and designs, in all their natural deformity.

As in your letter you have abandoned all decency, and indulged, what appears from your constant practice, a natural propensity, in all kinds of the most savage abuse of every thing which must be held revered and respectable in a state whilst it has existence, and have even *out-pained Paine*; it is impossible, in answering it, strictly to adhere to all the rules of politeness, to which every decent writer is intitled from his antagonist. No man wrestles with a sweep-chimney without soil from his foot; however, I shall endeavour to keep myself as uncontaminated as possible in the contest, though my adversary be armed, as Doctor Bently is represented to be in the Battle of the Books, that is, wielding with one hand a flail, and with the other, a pot of ordure.

You begin your letter by stating, "That you have found the citizens of Dublin gracious masters, and they have found in you an unprofitable servant; but that so long as the present representation in the Commons' House continues, so long must you respectfully decline the soliciting at their hands a seat in that assembly."

The first part of this statement, that the citizens of Dublin have found in you an unprofitable servant, is very true, but it does not express the whole truth, for they have found you not only an unprofitable, but an ungrateful, disrespectful, and mischievous servant.

Mr. Grattan rejected with contempt the instructions of his con-

When you had acquired a reputation for parliamentary ability (considerably greater than you deserved) by retailing in the House of Commons Molyneaux's State of Ireland, and Swift's Drapier's letters, the citizens of Dublin, ignorant of your

real

real character, returned you as one of their representatives in the last parliament, without expence to you. What return have you made them? As soon as you had disclosed your dangerous project of subverting the religious establishment of the country, and substituting popery in its stead, under the pretence of granting equality of civil privileges to all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects (the very mask assumed by King James the second, when engaged in the execution of a similar project,) but really with a view of smoothing your way to the subversion of the civil constitution of the country, (which was also the design of King James); the corporation of the City of Dublin, alarmed at such conduct in their representative, assembled and drew up an address to you, containing instructions for your conduct in parliament relative to the claims of the Romanists, as contained in an acrimonious libel on the Protestants of this kingdom in the form of a petition, drawn up by a Romish convention; and they directed you, their representative, to oppose in parliament any further extension of civil privileges to the Irish Romanists, as subversive of the constitution, they being already, in possession of every privilege necessary to secure their liberties civil and religious, their lives and properties.

When this address was presented to you, you rejected the instructions of your constituents with a degree of arrogance and contempt, perhaps peculiar to you; and while that parliament continued, your efforts to subvert the constitution in church and state, both in and out of parliament, were violent and unremitting: you assembled Romish conventions and committees; you supported on every occasion in parliament the Romish demands of subversion of the Protestant establishment; you reprobated all the laws made in this kingdom for the security of the state against the plots, machinations, and the rebellions of the Romanists since the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; as the most effectual way of rooting out the Protestant religion in this kingdom.

You had before this commenced your attack upon it by a declamation in parliament against tithes, the scanty maintenance of the Protestant parochial clergy: It is well known,

Mr Grattan reprobated tithes, as a prelude to

his attempt
to subvert
the Protestant
Church
establishment
in
Ireland.

that the parochial clergy in this kingdom do not receive one fifth part of the tithes to which they are justly entitled, and that they cannot obtain that fifth without great difficulty: Yet to deprive them even of this pittance, and thereby to reduce them to absolute beggary, you pronounced a philippic in the House of Commons against them, in which you vomited forth all the falsehoods and calumnies which you could collect from every libel against tithes since the publication of the pretended History of Tithes, by Selden; which, as well as its offspring the swarm of false and malicious publications against tithes by all the hives of political wasps and hornets, the dissenters of various denominations, afterwards printed, have been long since fully and ably refuted and exposed by Montague, Tyldesley, Leslie, Comber, and many other learned writers. The materials of this pretended history, particularly that part of it which relates to Jewish antiquities, Selden himself chiefly stole from Joseph Scaliger, as he did the materials of many others of his writings, though his literary vanity prevented him from acknowledging his plagiarism, and though he lived to repent and be ashamed of his pretended history.

This Pandora's box you farther enriched with all the scandalous stories respecting the Irish Protestant clergy, no matter whether true or false, which you could possibly collect, or which could be collected for you by a Romish fryar, the companion of your Attic evenings, who had himself published a virulent pamphlet against the payment of tithes to the Protestant clergy of Ireland, remarkable only for its petulance, ignorance, vulgarity and falsehood.

This speech has been printed with your name prefixed to it, and you have not disowned the publication: I did not indeed hear you pronounce it; but I have read it. The fryar's performance is somewhat inferior to the speech in point of stile, but infinitely inferior in falsehood and malignity.

Your proceedings in this point were exactly similar to those of the French jacobins, who commenced their career for the general subversion of all orders of the state, by the abolition

abolition of tithes, and the slaughter and extermination of their established clergy.

Thus diametrically opposite to the instructions of your constituents, the Protestant citizens of Dublin, (for Romanists, at the time when you were elected representative for the City of Dublin, were excluded from the elective franchise) your conduct in parliament has been, and as diametrically opposite to your own often-repeated doctrine, "That representatives in parliament are bound in duty to pursue the instructions of their constituents; and that acting otherwise they betray their delegated trust." To put this your unfaithful conduct in so clear a point of view as to preclude you and your pitiful faction from any defence, I shall state one or two other facts so notorious that they cannot be denied.

The corporation of the City of Dublin, lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, met in a post assembly in September, 1792, and without one dissenting voice agreed on a letter which they caused to be sent to all magistrates, corporations, and members of both houses of parliament in Ireland. This letter, in a very clear, concise, and nervous manner, expressed the decided disapprobation of this the first corporation in the kingdom, of the claims of the Irish Romanists to any other privileges and advantages than those which they then enjoyed. It stated, that the Irish Romanists ought to be contented with what they then enjoyed; that is, "The most perfect toleration of their religion, the fullest security of their property, and the most complete personal liberty;" and that they ought not then, nor at any other time, attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom, as such interference would be incompatible with the *Protestant ascendancy*, (a term coined by you at a former period, when you declared your determination to support it); and then the letter defined the precise meaning of the words *Protestant ascendancy* in the following terms:

A Protestant King of Ireland;

A Protestant Parliament;

A Protestant

A Protestant Hierarchy ;
 Protestant Electors and Government ;
 The Benchers of Justice ;
 The Army, and the Revenue, through all their branches
 and details, Protestant ;
 And this system supported by a connexion with the
 Protestant Realm of Great Britain.

In this definition, the corporation of Dublin adhered scrupulously to the laws of the land, which laws restricted the enjoyment of all the enumerated offices and privileges to Protestants only.

At the very commencement of the session of parliament which followed the publication of this decisive declaration of your constituents against the claims of the Romanists, you not only supported their claims in the House of Commons with the utmost vehemence ; but you treated your constituents with great contumely and disdain : you even attempted ridicule on the occasion, *invitâ Minervâ !* ridicule is not your talent ; when you could not argue against the letter of the corporation, you strove to be witty upon it ; and with that view you purloined a wretched witticism from a pastoral letter of the Irish Apostle of popery, the late Mr. Edmund Burke. You essayed a laugh ; you could not excite even a smile in the audience ; but your constituents were justly enraged at this glaring breach of the trust they had committed to you, and this public defiance of their instructions on a point in which their dearest interests, the security of their lives and property, were concerned.

After this faithful detail of your conduct in parliament as one of the representatives of the City of Dublin, is it possible for imagination to conceive any impudence so consummate as yours in the very exordium of your address ? You admit the citizens of Dublin to have been your masters while you remained one of their representatives, and *gracious masters*, and yourself to have been their servant ; and yet your conduct in parliament was one continued series of active and determined hostility against them and their dearest interests ; fighting, ridiculing,

ridiculing, and reprobating their instructions, and exerting on all occasions the most indefatigable industry to find out ways and means to break and defeat the trust they had reposed in you: yet these are the very persons whom you presume to address in the stile of an humble servant, who had used his best endeavours to execute with fidelity the service in which they employed him!

As to the second part of the exordium of your letter, in which, with the affectation of modesty, suggested only by the extremity of assurance and deceit, you beg leave to decline the honour of soliciting at the hands of your fellow citizens of Dublin a seat in parliament so long as the present state of representation in the Commons' House continues, you certainly never wrote it (shameless as you are) with a view to its gaining credit in the City of Dublin; you must have written it for circulation in England. Here we know you too well; we may cry out to you, *pete peregrinum!* you declined soliciting a seat in parliament for the City of Dublin, knowing that such solicitation would not succeed; and not on account of the present state of the representation in the Commons' House. You know, and we all know, that the Romanists have not yet had time, by the operation of the act of parliament made in their favour in 1793, to become freemen of the City of Dublin, and that all the freemen are yet Protestants. You found, on inspection into the register, that sixty-eight Roman Catholics only had been registered as freeholders in the County of the City of Dublin; and that therefore the Romanists could give you but a very feeble support in an election for the City of Dublin: You knew at the same time, as we all know, that the whole Protestant body of freemen and freeholders, incensed at your infidelity and arrogance, would have voted for any man in the community rather than for you.

When I say the whole Protestant body, I do not mean all the freemen and freeholders who pass under the general description of Protestants, and usurp that title when it serves their interest; I know there are several persons, and some of them freemen and freeholders, but who, (praise be to God!)

are

Mr. Grattan declined to offer himself a Candidate to represent the City of Dublin in the present parliament from a certainty of rejection.

are few in number, that are Atheists, Deists; Jacobins, Republicans, and United Irishmen. Such of this tribe, I admit, as are freemen and freeholders, would have voted for you, *Parcit cognatis maculis, similis Fera*; but their whole number is insignificant; and, joined with the Romanist freeholders, they would not have amounted to one-twentieth part of the electors of the city.

Certainty of defeat then, it is notorious, prevented you from standing as a candidate for the representation of the City of Dublin in the present parliament; and the consequence you assume, and which your Jacobin masters in England, for whom you are acting the honourable part of master fireworker in Ireland, endeavour to confer on you, by insinuating that you might have been elected representative in the Irish Commons for the City of Dublin, if you would have done the city the honour to offer yourself a candidate for it, is founded in fraud and deception; the baseless vision flies the light of truth, as spectres vanish at the dawn of day.

Mr. Grattan's project of reform, is a project for the separation of Ireland from the British Empire.

If the present state of the representation in the House of Commons had determined you *not to sollicit* (I presume you mean *not to accept of*) a seat in that house, and if all honest men who wish to serve their country should, as you insinuate, also decline to accept of seats in that house, and if it be necessary for the preservation of liberty, and the salvation of the country, as you maintain, that a reform should be made in the state of the representation in the House of Commons, pray, by what means is that reform to be effected?

According to the law of Ireland, as well as England for ages past, the sole right of enacting new laws, and altering those already established, is vested in the king, lords, and commons; no new law, nor alteration in the present laws, can be constitutionally effected, but by the joint consent of the king, lords and commons; and if all those persons who wish for an alteration in the state of the representation of the commons now by law established, whom alone you allow to be patriots desirous of the salvation of their country, shall abdicate the House of Commons, and leave it to be filled only by corrupt men, who live by their *stipendiary talents*, exercised

cised in what you stile the *trade of parliament*, who have always resisted your schemes of reform, and whose interest it is (by which alone they are guided,) to resist all reform in the representation, as you describe them; it is plain a House of Commons so composed will never vote for the reform you desire; nor, as you state it, for any reform in the present representation of the Commons; and that therefore no reform can be effected by the constitutional power of the state as established for ages.

There is then no method left, according to you, to effect this reform, but the subversion of the present constitution by rebellion, civil war, massacre, and sanguinary revolution, and that by the only means of carrying so destructive a plan into execution, the introduction of a French army of Jacobin assassins, to assist their fellow assassins here, the United Irishmen, in shaking off the influence of the British Cabinet, stiled by you a *foreign cabinet*, and rendering this country a field of battle for the English and French nations; and, if possible, tearing it for ever from its sister island; that such is, and for some time past has been, your real scheme, it is easy to prove by a simple recital of some of the principal manoeuvres in your political career.

Passing over your constant virulent invectives since your first entrance into the House of Commons, against Great Britain, and its conduct respecting Ireland; your perpetual agitation of every circumstance which could, even in the remotest degree, create jealousy between the two countries, with the most acrimonious exaggeration; your reiterated harangues, tending to shew that the interests of the two nations are incompatible, except upon such terms as you well know Great Britain, consistent with her own safety, or even existence as an independent nation in the present state of Europe, could never accede to, in which you have always used every kind of deception and false colouring, that the furious zeal of a desperate projector and a thorough contempt of concord could furnish; I shall introduce the proofs of your project of separating the two countries by your conduct in the regency business.

Ireland,

The conduct of Mr. Grattan in the regency business proves his design to separate Ireland from the British Empire.

Ireland, after its conquest by the English, was a lordship, and a feudal appendage to the crown of England; and the kings of England, before the reign of Henry the eighth, were stiled lords, and not kings of Ireland; and the island was stiled the land, not the kingdom of Ireland. That monarch created it a kingdom, and stiled himself king, and not lord, of Ireland; but, to prevent any idea being entertained, that Ireland, from its new stile of a kingdom, was therefore a dominion separated from the crown of England, and that the feudal annexation of it to, and dependance upon, the imperial crown of England was thereby in any manner dissolved, impaired, or weakened, it was declared, by several statutes passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the reign of that prince, and in almost every reign since, to the reign of Queen Anne, *that the kingdom of Ireland is inseparably annexed, united, and belonging to, and depending upon, the imperial crown of England; and that whoever is king of England, is thereby, ipso facto, king of Ireland*, as may be seen by our statute book. This is clearly to be the known established law of the land, in a very particular manner, by the Irish act of recognition of King William and Queen Mary, in the fourth year of their reign, and by the act passed in the seventh year of the same reign, declaring the pretended Romish parliament assembled in Dublin by King James the second, after his abdication in England, an unlawful assembly; and none of these Irish acts have ever been repealed.

Such being the known established law of Ireland, what was your conduct when from the sudden indisposition of our most gracious monarch, it was thought necessary that a regent, that is a person to exercise the kingly office during the continuance of that public calamity, or a *king pro tempore*, should be appointed? The legislatures of the two countries being independent of each other, except in all cases which respected such their union, as before stated; and the two nations having no legal tie to bind them together, except a king common to both, which king, by the known law of Ireland, was always to be the person who wore the imperial crown of England; and a regent, once established, being (as to power and

and administration) to all intents and purposes a king, and in possession of the crown, you immediately suggested in the Commons of Ireland, the expediency of the parliament of Ireland proceeding to the nomination of a regent for Ireland, without waiting for the determination of the parliament of Great Britain in that particular, and you supported the propriety of such a measure with the utmost zeal, grounding the expediency of resorting to this dangerous experiment on sophistical arguments, deduced from the independence of the Irish legislature on that of Great Britain; arguing against the known established common law of Ireland, declared and recognized by so many Irish statutes; and asserting an unconstitutional power to be lodged in the Irish lords and commons, of abrogating by their resolutions the known law thus declared and recognized by statutes; and persuading them, that they had a right, by their votes, to nominate a regent, that is a *King pro tempore*, for Ireland, notwithstanding the unrepealed Irish law, that whoever was king or regent of England, was *ipso facto* king or regent of Ireland: and you and your party on that occasion prevailed on a majority of the Irish lords and commons, led astray by your sophistry, and not aware of the mischief of the precedent they were about to establish, to nominate and elect a regent for Ireland, before any regent of the British Empire was nominated in England; thus presenting to the British parliament the mortifying and dangerous alternative, of nominating the pretended regent of the Irish crown, regent of the imperial crown of Great Britain; (and thereby in fact surrendering to the Irish houses of parliament the right of nominating a regent of England): or, of compelling obedience in Ireland to the person to be nominated regent by the parliament of Britain, by a British army and a civil war, as England was under the necessity of doing, to quell the usurpation of James the second in Ireland, after he had abdicated the crown of England; thus cutting asunder, as far as in you lay, the only bond which bound the two countries together, and laying deep the foundation of future contention, slaughter, and civil war; for those who have assumed the right of nominating a regent,

will,

will, on failure of issue in the royal line, and on other contingencies, assume the right of nominating a king, or of changing the monarchical government into a republican; and a difference of opinion on such great imperial questions between the two nations will be the certain parent of civil war, and perhaps of mutual destruction. In vain will you plead in excuse or extenuation, that the person nominated regent in Ireland was the heir apparent of the crown, and the person who, it was highly probable, or even certain, would be elected regent in England; the notorious violation of the law of the land, and the precedent authorizing, and as it were inviting, separation of the two countries, your own exultation on the success of the measure, and your repeated triumphant expressions of delight, on your having established such a precedent; all demonstrate that your favourite project is separation, and that you would have preferred the nomination of any other person to the office of regent, rather than the heir apparent, had you not been convinced, that such was the loyalty and attachment of the parliament of Ireland to the present royal family, that the very mention of any person, as proper to fill the office of regent, other than the illustrious prince who was nominated on that occasion, would have instantly blasted your whole design; and that great personage, when in the fulness of time he may come to mount the throne of his ancestors, will find but little cause to be obliged to you for your conduct in the affair of the regency.

Mr. Grattan intrigues with the Romanists of Ireland to effect a separation of Ireland from the British Empire.

If any doubt can be entertained of your design to separate the two countries, to which all your proceedings tend, though you sometimes think it necessary to disavow it, the rage of disappointed ambition and avarice with which you were inflamed on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of this country, put you so much off your guard, that you almost threw away the mask; it extorted from you unequivocal proofs of your dangerous intentions. It is here necessary to state briefly your intrigues with the Romanists of Ireland.

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This body, about two thirds of the inhabitants of this island (and not three fourths, as you constantly state when you intend to magnify the prowess of your men in buckram) is composed of two classes of men, the descendants of the old native Irish, and those of the ancient English colony settled in Ireland before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These two classes were inveterate enemies to each other until the year 1641, the year of the barbarous Romish massacre, when the civil dissensions in England encouraged a rebellion in Ireland, and caused an union of these two classes; the old English colonies taking up arms with the view of re-establishing and maintaining the Romish religion in Ireland; the native Irish professing the same view, but really taking arms with the design of separating the two nations. This union between the two classes has ever since continued, and has so blended them together, that they may now be said to be almost one people; save that in the descendants of the old English colonists may be observed something more of civilization, and in the descendants of the old native Irish, where they are yet unmixed with English blood, evident remains of their ancient ferocity and barbarism. At the time of the first descent of the English in Ireland in the reign of Henry the second, the country was in a savage state; the natives lived in clans under elective chiefs, in the same manner as do the native Indians in America. There were no towns nor buildings in the country, except at the mouths of rivers, where the Danes and other northern nations had built small towns or factories, for the purpose of collecting such commodities for exportation as countries, however barbarous, are known to furnish: The English colonists possessed themselves of, and settled in, some part of the nation opposite to Britain, and a constant predatory and desultory war was waged between these colonies and the savage natives for some centuries, until the accession of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign the Spanish monarch, then the mightiest potentate in Europe, designing to subject England, cast his eyes on Ireland as that part of the British dominion which it would be easiest to subjugate, as an acquisition the possession of which would facilitate, or rather

rather enforce his success against Great Britain ; and with this view he furnished the native Irish with arms, ammunition, and officers ; sent an army twice to their assistance, and rendered them so formidable, that the queen found it necessary to send great bodies of English troops from time to time to this country, and at length a great and formidable army (for that age), consisting of twenty-two thousand men, and commanded by her most favoured general. She at length completed the reduction of this island, but died before she could reap the fruit of her conquest. Her successor, King James the first, sent numerous colonies of industrious English and Scotch into this kingdom, received the native Irish into the mass of his subjects, extended the English laws and civilization over the whole nation, and encouraged industry, manufactures, and population ; yet the natives, wedded to their barbarous customs, abhorred their conquerors, and in two subsequent rebellions, one in the reign of Charles the first, the other in that of King William and Queen Mary, endeavoured to sever this nation from Britain ; and the mass of Irish Romanists at this day, particularly that part of it which is composed of the native Irish (infinitely the most numerous) so detest the English nation, that it may be asserted with great probability, they continue Romanists more from hatred to the English, who are Protestants, than from any conviction of the truth of the Roman Catholic doctrines, as distinguished from those of the Protestants ; for they are in general the lowest order of the people of this country, and very ignorant. One thing is certain, that they account every Protestant in the country, even though descended from their own sept, an Englishman : and that they have but one word in their language to signify Englishman and Protestant, to wit, *Safonagh*.

When you first entertained your project of separating the two countries, namely in the time of the American war, you found, that the persons who professed themselves friendly to such a project, that is, the herd of republicans, consisting chiefly of atheists, deists and disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine, Price, and Priestley, were in number, consequence, and

and property, so insignificant, that you could never carry it into execution with so inadequate a power as they could furnish. The whole real Protestant body of the inhabitants of Ireland, by which I mean all sincere christians of that persuasion, whether of the established church, (the most numerous class) or dissenters, you well knew, would reprobate such a measure the moment you should venture to disclose it to them, and with the greatest alacrity risque their lives and fortunes in resisting the execution of it. You knew the hatred which the Irish Romanists entertained of the British name and nation; you knew their attachment to the Stuart race was extinguished with that race, and that even that attachment originated with, and was continued by, the hope, that the interest of the house of Stuart with the French court would obtain succours for the Irish Romanists, to enable them to break off their connexion with Great Britain, and to create a king of their own, or an independent republic; and it was perfectly indifferent to them whether the government in Ireland was monarchical or republican, so that it had no connexion with the British government. You therefore looked to the Irish Romanists, as the most powerful auxiliaries that you could obtain for the execution of your project, from their numbers and inveteracy against England. They were poor, it is true; they had not in their possession one-fiftieth part of the real, nor one-twentieth part of the personal property of the nation; but they laid claim to almost the whole landed property, of which they thought their ancestors were unjustly despoiled by the English colonists; and these claims, together with their poverty and savage antipathy to the Protestants of the country (all of whom, as I have already observed, they reputed Englishmen,) you thought would excite them to rapine and slaughter, and their numbers would ensure success. Your ambition and avarice presented to your imagination the elevated and lucrative situation of president of the congress of the Irish republic as attainable by you: with these views you determined to court the Irish Romanists; and to convince them of your attachment to them, and your hostility to the Protestants, you

commenced

commenced your operations by an attack on the parochial clergy of the established church, and on tithes their only subsistence.

Mr. Grattan causes a Romish Convention to assemble in Dublin.

The Irish nobility and gentry of the Romish persuasion of ancient families and estates are very few; the nobility of that description not exceeding four or five, and the gentlemen of any consequence not exceeding twenty. These were generally men of honour, and averse from any schemes of democratical republics. You knew, therefore, that your application to them would be fruitless; but there were men of other descriptions among the Romanists, well suited to your purpose: these were men of very low and mean parentage, who, by great attention to trade and commerce, had amassed considerable fortunes, and from the nature of their respective trades and employments, had great and extensive connexions among the lowest order of their persuasion, particularly in cities and trading towns. To such men you applied yourself, disclosed your scheme, and the means you intended, with their co-operation, to pursue for the execution of it. You gave them your instructions for the different parts they were to act in the business, and you found them very apt scholars. These are the persons whom you stile in your letter *that part of the great body of the Catholics, the most popular and energetic.*

In consequence, and in execution of these instructions, a Romish merchant in Dublin, who had very shortly before emerged from the lowest order of society into mercantile opulence and consequence, and who had been for a considerable time your private agent for managing your intrigues with the Romanists, issued out formal writs for the election of a Romish convention to assemble in Dublin at a certain time limited in the writs. The French revolution having shortly before blazed forth, and a national assembly having been elected in that ill-fated country, these writs directed that the elections throughout Ireland should be carried on in the same manner, and on the same plan, which had been adopted in France for the election of their national assembly. So well were the Irish Romanists prepared previous to this election,

that

that these writs were executed throughout the whole nation; a Romish convention in consequence met in Dublin, and drew up one of the most false and acrimonious libels against the Protestant government of this country, that could possibly be devised, stiled it a petition to his majesty, and caused it to be presented as such. The then chief governor of Ireland did not think fit to disperse this unlawful meeting, and it continued sitting with the doors of the apartment in which it assembled, carefully closed and guarded for a considerable space of time, to the great reproach of those who were then intrusted with the regulation of the police of the country; and when at length the members of it thought fit to close their sitting, they appointed a permanent committee whom they stiled *the Committee of the Catholics of Ireland*,* consisting of nine persons who had been the most active amongst them, two or three of them merchants, as many men whom they stiled doctors of physic, the rest shopkeepers, manufacturers, or tradesmen in Dublin.

The success of so daring a measure as the preceding, and the supineness of government on the occasion, gave your Romish and infidel allies spirits and courage to assemble provincial conventions of republicans and other traitors, for the purpose of procuring and publishing resolutions of supporting and carrying into effect projected innovations in the state, subversive of the first principles of our constitution; and at length to summon a general convention of these miscreants, from all parts of the nation to meet at Athlone,

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* Of this committee two, to wit, M'Nevin and Sweetman, having been arrested on charges of high-treason, confessed their treasons, and particularly M'Nevin, before the Secret Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons. They are at present at Fort George in Scotland, where they are confined; an act has passed for their perpetual banishment; government, in consideration of their discoveries, having spared their lives.

Braughall, another of them, was a long time confined under a charge of high-treason, but has been lately liberated; he has perhaps purchased his freedom by giving private and useful information to government.

M'Cormick, secretary to the committee, has fled out of the kingdom, to evade the punishment of his crimes.

Ryan, one of the committee, is dead; and some others of them have departed out of this kingdom, to which, it is to be hoped, they never will

one of the king's garrisons in the heart of the kingdom, for the same traitorous purposes.

The state was at length roused from its lethargy, and the parliament passed an act to suppress such dangerous assemblies. The furious opposition you gave to this act in the House of Commons, as well as to the act for restraining the sale of gun-powder by certain regulations, when these confederated traitors were forming magazines of ammunition in different parts of the kingdom; and to the insurrection act, to prevent the nightly robberies and murders continually committed on the peaceable inhabitants, by gangs of these confederates styling themselves *United Irishmen*; your constant insertion of these acts in your bead-roll of pretended grievances ever since, and your complaints of them in your present address, all demonstrate how much you think the execution of your project of separation impeded by the operation of these salutary statutes.

Mr. Grattan's designs favoured and supported by the republican faction in England.

Thus defeated in Ireland, your masters, the *republican faction* in England, were consulted; they looked to an insurrection in Ireland as the most effectual mode of raising a clamour against the ministers in England, and distressing and perhaps overturning the government there. It was represented to them, that the most powerful engines they could use for undermining the present power of the government in Ireland were the subversion of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and the substitution of popery in its room; that the mass of Irish Romanists having a rooted aversion to the British name and nation, and having for more than a century looked to the French nation for assistance to enable them to throw off all connexion with Great Britain, had heretofore shewn some marks of attachment to the monarchical form of government, by their adherence to the interests of the Stuart family; but that this seeming attachment to monarchy was adopted by them merely on the supposition, that the Stuart family, by its influence at the court of France, could procure them the means of separating themselves from England, and from complaisance to the then monarchical government of France: but that now, the Stuart family being extinct, republicanism being established

blished in France by the revolution, and also in America, by a successful rebellion, (which by the assistance of the French was lopped off from the British Empire, and formed into an independent republic,) the whole body of the Romanists of Ireland had thrown off the mask, and declared themselves determined republicans; at least that part of them which you stile the most *popular and energetick*: that their ancient nobility and gentry were, as to number, and influence with the mass of their persuasion, contemptible; that the *energeticks* had lately banished them both from their assemblies and councils; that the body of republicans in Ireland distinct from the Romish body, though perfectly agreeing in opinion with the English republicans, being all Atheists, Deists, and disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine, Price and Priestley, passing under the general name of Dissenters, were too few and too weak to attempt a revolution with any prospect of success without the co-operation of the Romanists; and that such Protestant Dissenters as were real christians, being greatly the majority of that class of people, would, on any attempt to subvert the established government, join heart and hand with their brethren the Protestants of the establishment.

These reasons prevailed on your English masters to lend their aid to the plan of subverting the established church of Ireland, and substituting popery in its room, as the first step to a republican revolution; and by the artful intrigues of this English faction in the British cabinet, Earl Fitzwilliam was selected as a proper person to fill the important employment of Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom. This nobleman was himself an enemy to republicanism, and utterly ignorant of the intrigues of the faction; but they had the art, nevertheless, to render him a ready tool for carrying into execution this their first step towards a republic.

The late Mr. Edmund Burke, a man of splendid but not solid talents, had obtained the confidence of this nobleman to such a degree, that he regulated all his political exertions with unbounded authority.—Mr. Burke was himself sprung from parents who were Irish Romanists; he received his early education in the College of Dublin; but having quit-

Character
and projects
of the late
Mr. Ed-
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ted Ireland at a very early period of life, and all his relations by blood or alliance being Irish Romanists, he became thoroughly tinged, or rather dyed in grain, with the political sentiments of that class of people. He had procured the favour and protection of the late Marquis of Rockingham, uncle to Earl Fitzwilliam, who obtained for him a seat in the British House of Commons, in which, during the American war, he constantly harangued with the utmost vehemence in favour of the Americans, and by promoting ill humours and dissensions at home, conduced as much as any man in England to the separation of America from the Mother Country. Indeed it may be truly said, that the ill success of the British arms in America was in a greater degree owing to intrigues of a republican faction at home, one of the active leaders of which at that time was Mr. Burke, than to the power either of France or America. Encouraged by the success of the American rebellion, Mr. Burke formed the dangerous project of overturning the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and substituting popery in its room; and with that view he exerted all his abilities to persuade several very popular and powerful English noblemen, that the only method of retaining Ireland in obedience to the British crown, and maintaining the connexion between the two countries, was the complete establishment of popery in Ireland; and that the irreconcilable difference of the established religion of the inhabitants of the two nations respectively would be the indissoluble cement of peace and union between them.

As a convincing argument in favour of the practical truth of this new and strange doctrine, he adduced the example of England and Scotland before the union, where difference of religious establishments had produced no separation, artfully suppressing in his representations, that though the religious establishments of the two countries last mentioned were in some particulars different, yet they were both Protestant establishments, agreeing in all material matters of faith, and differing in discipline only. He magnified the numbers, wealth, and power of the Irish Romanists beyond all bounds of truth, and actually persuaded these noblemen,

utterly

utterly ignorant of the real state of Ireland, that the Irish Romanists, if not gratified by the proscription of the Protestant establishment, and the substitution of popery in its room, would withdraw the Irish nation from its connexion with Great Britain, and form themselves into an independent government, after the example of America; adding, that they were sufficiently powerful to effect such a revolution.

Whether Mr. Burke had, at the time he formed his project of establishing popery in Ireland, entertained it only as a step toward a separation of Ireland from the British Empire, is not quite clear, though his strong attachment to republican principles during the American war gives good ground for suspecting him of such a design: it is, however certain, that he concealed with great care this part of his plan (if it was a part) from his patron, and the great noblemen to whom he had access by his means; and when the French revolution blazed forth, and consumed all religions in that country, and popery its established religion among the rest, Mr. Burke changed, or affected to change, all his former opinions in favour of republicanism so often repeated in his most flaming harangues, and wrote with great violence against the French republicans; for which change, if it was real, no other probable reason can be adduced, than the subversion of popery in France by these republicans, which he stiles in one of his latest productions the pulling down the *majesty* of religion.

Under the influence, or rather under the absolute controul of such a man, wedded to the promotion of the interests of popery, did Earl Fitzwilliam take upon him the government of this kingdom. Your masters in England gave you immediate notice of the success of their intrigues, that they had procured the delivery of this kingdom into the hands of a person the fittest in the world for their and your purpose; and you immediately set off for England to prepare and sharpen your tool for the effectual execution of the work in which you intended to employ him.

Happily for this kingdom, your presumptuous precipitancy marred your project; you set your engine immediately

Mr. Grattan's conduct during
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to work with so much violence that the whole machinery fell suddenly to pieces. You posted back to this kingdom, to anticipate any popularity which the Lord Lieutenant might obtain among the Romanists by consigning the power of the state to their hands, and by the ruin of the Protestant interest in Ireland, as far as he could effect it. You were jealous of the fame of so glorious an achievement, and one so conducive to the success of your project of separation, and were unwilling to share it even with the chief governor. You were desirous that your allies, the *energetick* Irish Romanists, should be convinced that he was only your engine in the business, and that the whole merit was your own: You immediately assembled the standing committee of the Romanists already mentioned, consisting of nine persons, traders, mechanicks, and men styling themselves doctors of physic.

This standing committee were cramped a little in the exercise of their authority over the whole body of Romanists in this kingdom by the convention bill; and you and they together, not daring in open violation of the law, to summon a new Romish convention, took however as effectual, though not so daring, a method of proclaiming the general union and confederacy of the Irish Romanists against the constitution. You and your nine worthies drew up and published a kind of manifesto under the guise of a petition to parliament, wherein was demanded, as a matter of right, a full and perfect communication of all privileges and offices of the state, without exception, to the Romanists; that no distinction in these particulars should be continued between them and Protestants; and that all laws which created such distinctions, and which had been enacted in Ireland since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, should be repealed.

The committee published advertisements in most of the public Newspapers, addressed to the Romanists in all counties, cities, towns, and boroughs, throughout the kingdom; ordering them immediately to draw up similar manifestoes, under the guise of petitions to parliament, and transmit them to their secretary, a manufacturer in the liberties of the City of Dublin, and a most *energetick* Romanist.

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These orders were complied with by the Romanists in every quarter of the kingdom with great expedition; the several manifestoes were almost in the same words with that drawn up by you and your *energetick committee*; and were all presented to parliament on its meeting, with long lists of names subscribed to each.

The Lord Lieutenant arrived in this kingdom shortly after you, and acted in every thing exactly conformable to your advice. The great law officers of the crown were immediately dismissed from their employments, as were many others of great family and abilities from several most important offices in the state, without any reason being assigned for their dismissal, other than that they were Protestants adverse to your measures, and that you wanted their employments for your own creatures. Open menaces of removing the Lord Chancellor were thrown out, and if your domination had continued, he might probably have been succeeded by a Romanist. The court of the viceroy was crowded with Romanists of the lowest condition, the most obtrusive and active among the mob of that persuasion; (such persons as your admired apostle Mr. Paine calls *nobles by nature*) the *most popular and energetick* Romanists, were seated at the festive board of the Earl Fitzwilliam, to the no small degradation of his great station.

The ministry of England, at length roused from their lethargy by the rapidity of your revolutionary progress in this country, found it necessary suddenly to recall the unfortunate nobleman whom you, with the assistance of Mr. Edmund Burke, had duped into such destructive measures, and all your plans of avarice and ambition were defeated at one stroke. The rage of you and your allies, the *popular and energetick Romanists*, burst forth on this occasion with the utmost fury. Your committee, at your instance, summoned a general meeting of their party at a Romish Chapel in the city of Dublin; they there resolved to send deputies to London with a petition to his majesty, praying that he would continue Lord Fitzwilliam, that is, you, in the government of Ireland, and stuffed, as usual with them, with

Mr. Grattan's outrageous conduct on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam

all manner of shameless falsehoods; for your Romish party had, from the beginning of your operations, totally abandoned all regard to truth, thinking that the impudence and audacity of their assertions would gain credit to some of them, at least in England, where, from the ignorance which prevailed respecting the internal state of Ireland, honest men might be induced to think, that even the most hardened liars would not openly publish such details, and present them to the throne, without some foundation or colour of truth.

One of these daring falsehoods, with which all the publications of your Romish allies were at that time and have been ever since garnished, was that, what with equal falsehood and deceit they are pleased to stile *the emancipation* of the Roman Catholics was impatiently wished for by the Protestants of Ireland; and the Romish assemblies, to countenance this falsehood in several of their resolutions, which they caused to be ostentatiously published in the daily Newspapers both in England and Ireland, with great gravity returned thanks to their Protestant brethren, for their co-operation in the great work of their emancipation; though it is notoriously known in Ireland, that the great body of Protestants view such a measure with abhorrence; that those who pass under the general denomination of Protestants, and give any countenance or support to such a measure, are generally republicans, and avowed disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, or timid persons who dread the horrors of a Romish rebellion; and (praised be God!) among the mass of people passing under the general description of Protestants in Ireland, republicans, infidels, blasphemers and cowards are very few, and inconsiderable with respect to power or property.

Mr. Grattan's factious answer to the address of the Romish assembly at Francis-street chapel on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam.

This assembly also voted an address to you: your answer to which very plainly points out your design of separating the two countries, and the use you intended to make of the Romanists in the execution of that design.

I shall here take the liberty of reminding you of a few passages in that answer, which together with the address was printed on one sheet of paper, and sent in thousands over

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all Ireland, with advice to all Romanists to have the sheets framed and glazed, and hung up for perusal in all their houses.

This answer was published in March, 1795, at the time when the British Empire was actually engaged in a furious war with a savage enemy, the enemy of mankind in general ! not for advantage, for commerce, or for dominion ; but for preservation, for existence as a free country. You therein insert the following passages, addressed to the Irish Romanists :

“ Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war ; rather let Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency which demands it.

“ My wish is, that you should be free *now* ; there is no other policy which is not low and little ; let us at once *instantly* embrace, and greatly emancipate.

“ If he (Earl Fitzwilliam) is to retire, I condole with my country. For myself, the pangs on that occasion which I should feel at rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath, would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return of power to your old *taste-masters*. That combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice ; should such a combination (at once inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the *British court*, and by the reprobation of the *Irish people*) return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that they will *extinguish Ireland, or Ireland must remove them*. It is not your case only, but that of the nation ; I find the country already *committed* in the struggle ; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issue of her fortunes.”

Then the answer, after remarking that the Irish parliament had voted great supplies, goes on to say, “ And when this country came forward, cordial and confident, with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation, it is no proof
“ of

“ of wisdom or generosity to select that moment to plant
 “ a dagger in her heart.”

Though the manifest tendency of your answer (being all in the same strain with the above selected passages) was to excite the Romanists of Ireland to insurrection, for the purpose of severing the island from the British Empire during the war with France, which would ensure the insurgents the assistance of the French assassins; yet it may not be impertinent to insert, in this my answer to your most impudent address to the citizens of Dublin, a few comments on the above passages, as my answer is not intended for your perusal alone, but for the perusal of my fellow citizens of Dublin, and of all other my countrymen into whose hands it may fall.

It is proper to remark here, that the Irish Romanists, before the lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, were intitled to every civil privilege and advantage to which Protestants were intitled; save only that their obstinate refusal of the oath of supremacy, and of the oaths and engagements prescribed to be taken by the test act, precluded the few Irish peers of that persuasion from voting in the House of Lords, and their commoners from seats in the House of Commons. They were also, by the same means, precluded from filling about 32 civil employments, among which were the offices of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Judges, and Commander in Chief of the army; in the persons filling which offices was vested the superior executive authority of the state; situations of legislative and executive authority, which can never be conceded to Romanists while they deny the supremacy of the state, and while even the form of a Protestant establishment is preserved in Ireland.

In fact, the Irish Romanists, previous to the arrival of Earl Fitzwilliam, enjoyed a more rational, a more extensive, and better secured civil liberty, than the most favoured class of subjects in any state in the known world, those of Great Britain only excepted; yet you and your party harangued and addressed what you call the *popular and energetick* part of them into an opinion that they were slaves; fraudulently
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and maliciously filed the subversion of the Protestant establishment in church and state, *emancipation* of the Roman Catholics; and told them that they must work their own deliverance, when the British Empire is involved in a war with a potent neighbouring nation, which has declared by public decree, that it will support and assist the subjects of all states who shall rebel against their rulers.

The true and palpable construction of the words, " Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war. My wish is that you should be free *now*; there is no other policy which is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace and greatly emancipate. You must destroy your former dreadful guardians, your old task-masters, or they will extinguish you. The country is already committed in the struggle; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issue of her fortunes;" is, *fly to arms immediately; destroy by fire and sword all Protestants who oppose your pretensions, and all the great Protestant officers of state, many of whom I displaced in the short interval of my domination, and intended to have done so by the rest: they are all task-masters, and keep you in worse than Egyptian bondage. You have no time to lose; if you don't dispatch them before a peace shall be concluded, they will extinguish you. Great Britain can send no assistance to the Protestants of Ireland; you are the Irish people, the country, the nation; the Protestants are but a handful. England is not able to defend herself against France when your assistance is withdrawn from her; the French will assist you with innumerable hosts; I myself will be your general. If you wait till a peace is concluded between Great Britain and her enemies, you will be too late.* Your present address is replete with the same doctrines, as I shall hereafter make more fully appear.

Your confederates, the *popular and energetic* Romanists, have not neglected your advice, so far as their abilities enabled them to follow it. A very considerable number of the Irish Romanists, and much the largest portion of them, preferred peace, quiet, and the exercise of their lawful occupations, protected by civil liberty, to rapine and murder.

The whole body, though they amounted to two-thirds of the inhabitants of the island, yet were not in possession of one-twentieth part of the real and personal property of the kingdom, taken together. Hence, from a disapprobation of so wicked a measure in a large part, and from inability in the rest, (and indeed in the whole, if they had been unanimous) no open general rebellion of the Romanists followed the dismissal of Earl Fitzwilliam; but assassination, nightly murder, robbery, and conflagration through a considerable part of the kingdom immediately followed this your flagitious publication; and in your present you openly avow, that these calamities are the consequences of the rejection of what you stile Catholic emancipation. Adverting to the present convulsions in this kingdom, in your address, you write thus: "They (that is the government) have told us
 " at some times, though at other times they have said the
 " contrary, that it is the spirit of plunder, not politics, that
 " is abroad: idle talk, whatever be the crime of the pre-
 " sent spirit, it is not the crime of theft; if so, it were easi-
 " ly put down: no, it is a *political* not a predatory spirit,
 " it is the spirit of *political reformation*," that is, *Catholic emancipation*: for in your late project of reform, proposed in the House of Commons, the first and principal part of the reformation which you and your party declared must precede all further reform, was Catholic emancipation, so that the disciples of the Protestant reformers, who had two centuries ago converted the nation from what our foolish ancestors thought the errors of popery, were to be re-reformed into popery, for the re-establishment of civil liberty; and popery and liberty were indissolubly connected by the dogmas of you and your faction, instead of popery and slavery heretofore coupled together in the political creed of our silly ancestors; and you openly and audaciously avow, that all the present nightly assassinations, robberies, and burning of houses, the horrible murders of multitudes of Protestant clergymen, magistrates, witnesses, and others, with the dreadful conspiracy for the murder of more, arise from the spirit of *political reformation* which you and your faction
 have

have sent abroad among *the popular and energetic Romanists*, that is, the dregs of the mob of that persuasion; and this spirit is conjured up by a faction contemptible in number, never amounting to thirty, as well as I recollect, on any question in the House of Commons since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, of which five or six only at any one time were members for counties, and frequently reduced to seven.

But, sir, it is not surprizing that you, who have so repeatedly harangued and addressed for Catholic emancipation and reform of the Commons' House, by which, as I shall demonstrate before I quit you, you mean the subversion of the Protestant religion in Ireland, separation of the island from the British Empire, and an Irish republic; I say, it is not surprizing that you should justify the present nocturnal murders and outrages of an Irish banditti, and fine them down by representing them as arising "from the spirit of political reformation carried to different degrees; to *liberty in most instances*; to ambition in others; and to power in others," and again, "here there may be conspiracy; there may be republicanism; there may be a spirit of plunder mixing in the public cause; but it is a public cause; and let no man persuade you that *it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other*;" when you had the audacity in the same address to justify the horrible Irish massacre of the year 1641, and to falsify history in the most palpable manner for that purpose.

Mr. Grattan openly justifies the horrible Irish massacre in 1641.

This, sir, you did; and although at the first view it may seem that you digressed a little from the proposed subject of your address, to wit, the justification of your own parliamentary conduct, in justifying the Irish massacre; to those who shall attentively consider your address, as I have done, it will clearly appear, that you have inserted this justification of that dreadful catastrophe, for the purpose of encouraging the continuance of the present barbarous disorders, so gently represented by you, as *the exertions of the spirit of political reformation, operating for liberty in most instances!* as *exertions in the cause of liberty against tyranny!* by the

the example of the glorious exploits of the ancestors of the present Romish banditti in the same cause with the present.

It is not a little remarkable, that the designs of the leaders of that rebellion were the same with yours, the separation of this kingdom from England, and the establishment of an independent government here; and with that view, and as the sure means of effecting their purpose, they intended the utter extirpation of the Protestant religion, and had projected a reform in parliament by the destruction of the boroughs some time before they broke out into open rebellion, as may be seen by the histories of that time, and particularly by that most valuable one, Mr. Carte's history of the Duke of Ormond, and the authentic documents which he has published in the appendix to it.

You begin your justification of the Irish rebellion with a false and acrimonious invective against king James the first. (I shall before I conclude this answer, expose your malignant mistatement of the conduct of that prince to his Irish subjects.) You then proceed to abuse, by most malicious misrepresentations, (to which you have so habituated yourself, that they seem to be natural to you,) the whole of the conduct of king Charles the first, and the administration of the Earl of Strafford, his minister in Ireland. It is no wonder that you, who presume with an assurance peculiar to yourself to misrepresent in the most flagrant manner what is every day happening before our eyes, should misrepresent antiquity without quoting any historian to support your misstatements. You sometimes add to your malignant fables the words, "*says the historian;*" pray, why did you not declare the historian's name? Such misrepresentations of transactions in the reigns of James the first, and Charles the first, but not tinged quite so deeply with acrimonious invective, are contained in two books, both of them of modern date; one written by a mercenary profligate scribbler, of the name of Brooke, hired by a club of Irish Romanists to defame the Protestant government of Ireland, and called *the trial of the Roman Catholics*; the other by a bigotted Romish physician of the city of Dublin, of the name of Curry, stiled,

an historical review of the wars of Ireland, a second edition of this last treatise has been lately published in the city of Dublin by your *energetic* Romanists. Is the historian you allude to, but whom you decline to name, one of these? They both are in stile and credit, as historians, rather below the level of Oldmixon and Ogilby in England. Any person who wishes to be convinced of the false colouring with which they and you have disguised and deformed the history of those times, will be fully satisfied by reading the three first books of the first volume of Carte's history of the Duke of Ormond, and the authorities there referred to; and Hume, 6th vol. page 401, 402, &c. he will there find your calumnies fully refuted, and that Ireland owes her constitution, her laws, her manufactures, her trade, her civilization, to the two monarchs, and the great statesman, you have thus basely traduced and abused; that from a woody desert, inhabited only by savage barbarians for the most part, it assumed the appearance of a civilized country by the great care and attention of these monarchs and their ministers, particularly the Earl of Strafford. History gives the following account of the Earl of Strafford's administration in Ireland: "In the government of Ireland, his administration had been equally promotive of his master's interest, and that of the subjects committed to his care; a large debt he had paid off; he had left a considerable sum in the Exchequer; the revenues, which never before answered the charges of government, were now raised to be equal to them; a small standing army, formerly kept in no order, was augmented, and was governed by exact discipline; and a great force was then raised and paid for the support of the king's authority against the Scotch covenanters.

"Industry and all the arts of peace were introduced among that rude people; the shipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred fold; the customs tripled upon the same rates; the exports doubled in value to the imports; manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted; agriculture, by means of the English and
 " Scottish

“Scottish plantations, gradually advancing; the Protestant religion encouraged without the persecution or discontent of the Catholics.” See Hume’s history, vol. 6th, page 402, and the authorities there quoted.

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on Mr.
Grattan’s
gross abuse
of the Earl
of Strafford.

As you have raked up the ashes of the dead for the purpose of defaming them, and thereby justifying rebellion and massacre; it may not be amiss here to insert an account of the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, when brought to trial before his peers by merciless cruel republicans, who hunted him to death, and murdered him in defiance and contempt of the known laws of this country; though you, with as much ignorance as malice, state that he “*justly lost his head*;” as if the putting any man to death by a public execution, against whom no crime, which could warrant judgment of death by the known laws of the land, was proved, and against whom no judgment was pronounced by his peers who tried him, was an act of justice; eighty peers attended at his trial on an impeachment for high treason by the Commons. After the trial had lasted eighteen days, the managers of the Commons, finding they had failed in the proof of any act of treason against him, and that the peers intended to acquit him, immediately suspended the progress of the trial; the Commons his accusers turned judges, contrary to all law and justice, brought in and passed a bill of attainder against him in their own house, sent it to the lords, compelled a majority of the lords, by great and outrageous mobs, and menaces of assassination, to pass the bill; forty-five lords only, out of eighty that attended the trial, being present in the house at the time the bill passed; the rest being kept away through dread of republican violence; and of these forty-five, nineteen voted against the bill. His majesty was prevailed upon by a forged letter, pretended to have been written by the Earl himself, to give his assent to this murderous act; such was the justice by which the Earl of Strafford lost his head! it is modern French justice! I am not ashamed to quote my historical authorities, see the State Trials, 1st vol. Hume, 6th vol from p. 400 to 411. Carte’s Ormond, 1st vol. p. 131 to 136. Mr. Whitlock, the famous republican, favourite

vourite of Cromwell, and author of the memorials, was himself chairman of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to conduct and manage the impeachment against the earl before the lords; he thus describes the behaviour of that great man on his trial: "Certainly never
 " any man acted such a part on such a theatre, with more
 " wisdom, constancy and eloquence, with greater reason,
 " judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his
 " words and actions, than did this *great and excellent* per-
 " son, and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some
 " few excepted, to *remorse* and pity." And the same author, speaking of the earl's death, thus expresses himself: "He died with charity, courage, and general lamentation.
 " Thus fell this noble earl, who for natural parts and abili-
 " ties, and for improvement of knowledge, by experience
 " in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, *faithfulness and gallan-*
 " *try* of mind, hath left few behind him, that may be rank-
 " ed equal with him." See Whitlock's memorials from p. 40 to 43. Such was the language of one of the prosecutors of that great and unfortunate statesman respecting him; how different from that of you, his posthumous defamer! who stile him with as much falsehood and malice, as vulgarity, a *robber*.

After your stating, contrary to all truth, to all authentic history, that the Irish were, before the rebellion and massacre, the most oppressed nation on earth, that these oppressions were the natural effects of a borough parliament; that the inhuman persecutions under which the Irish then laboured were provocations sufficient to excite in the minds of the people sentiments of the most savage revenge, and fully to justify them; you break out into the following rant: "*Massacre*, confusion, civil war, religious fury followed
 " *naturally and of course*; here you see hatched and matured
 " the egg which produced the massacre, and all that brood
 " of mortal consequences. The principles of *robbery* were
 " planted by the deputy (the Earl of Strafford, and the go-
 " vernment were surprized at the growth of popular pil-
 " lage; had the country been left to a state of barbarous
 " nature,

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 on Mr.
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 justification
 of the bar-
 barous Ro-
 mish massa-
 cre of 1641.

“ nature, she could not have been so shattered and cor-
 “ vulsed, as, when thus reduced to a state of barbarous
 “ art.” Thus you defend the justice of this horrible mas-
 sacre ; for the man who tells us, that the provocation given
 was such as called for the revenge, justifies the revenge, it
 then becomes but justice ; homicide is even justifiable by the
 common law, if the provocation is so great that human nature
 cannot brook it, a robber may be justly slain by the party at-
 tacked, such homicide is self-defence ; here then you address
 the citizens of Dublin with a defence of the barbarous massacre
 of their unoffending Protestant ancestors by merciless Romish
 murderers. Gracious God ! a century and an half has passed
 since that horrid transaction, and no man has, in all that time
 been found audacious and wicked enough to justify it, except
 yourself ; many have attempted to extenuate it, some partially
 to excuse it, but no one fully to justify it, until you took up
 your pen for that purpose ; to awaken the horror in the minds
 of Irish Protestants, which such an attempt must justly
 excite, I shall delineate from authentic historians some of
 the most prominent and terrible features of that dreadful
 catastrophe.

“ *The Irish, every where intermingled with the English,*
 “ *needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hos-*
 “ *tilities against a people whom they hated on account of their re-*
 “ *ligion, and envied for their riches and prosperity, the houses,*
 “ *cattle, goods of the unwary English were first seized, these*
 “ *who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of*
 “ *deserting their habitations and assembling together for mutual*
 “ *protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their pro-*
 “ *perty, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies,*
 “ *after rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and that the*
 “ *most barbarous, that ever in any nation, was known or heard*
 “ *of, began its operations, an universal massacre commenced of*
 “ *the English now defenceless and passively resigned to their in-*
 “ *human foes, no age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife*
 “ *weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless*
 “ *children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same*
 “ *stroke, the old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent*
 “ *the*

“ the like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin; in
 “ vain did flight save from the first assault, destruction was
 “ every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every
 “ turn; in vain was recourse had to relations, to companions,
 “ to friends; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt
 “ by that hand, from which protection was implored and ex-
 “ pected; without provocation, without opposition, the astonished
 “ English, being in profound peace and full security, were mas-
 “ sacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long
 “ upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices, but
 “ death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those enraged
 “ rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all
 “ the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of
 “ despair, could not satiate revenge, excited without injury, and
 “ cruelty derived from no cause; to enter into the particulars
 “ would shock the least delicate humanity, such enormities, though
 “ attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible, de-
 “ praved nature, even perverted religion encouraged by the ut-
 “ most licence, reaches not to such a pitch of ferocity, unless the
 “ pity inherent in human breasts, be destroyed, by that contagion
 “ of example, which transports man beyond all the usual motives
 “ of conduct and behaviour.

“ The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own
 “ sufferings and compassionate to those of others, here emulated
 “ their more robust companions, in the practice of every cruelty;
 “ even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the ex-
 “ hortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the
 “ dead carcases or defenceless children of the English; the very
 “ avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruel-
 “ ty, such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized,
 “ and by rapine had made their own, yet because they bore the
 “ name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or when covered
 “ with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

“ The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the plan-
 “ ters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives,
 “ were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground, and
 “ where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses and pre-
 “ paring for defence perished in the flames, together with their

“ wives and children, a double triumph was offered to their insulting foes.

“ If any where a number assembled together, and assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by a revenge on their assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths; but no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

“ Others, more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners, by the fond love of life, to embroil their hands in the blood of their friends, brothers, and parents, and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which they sought to shun by deserving it.

“ Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of religion sounded on every side, not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy; the English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety, was represented as the most meritorious; nature, which in that rude people was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was further stimulated by precept, and national prejudices envenomed by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition, while death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.”

Such is the description of this hellish massacre given by Mr. Hume in the 6th vol. of his history from page 410 to 436, and he stiles it, *an event memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence.* That he has not heightened the picture beyond reality, the writings of Temple, of Clarendon, of Rushworth, of Whitlock, cotemporary historians, and volumes of original depositions taken on the occasion, and now extant in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, sufficiently prove; some differences

ences of opinion have indeed prevailed, respecting the number of the immolated victims; Mr. Carte, a writer of singular humanity and justice, examines those opinions respecting the number with great candour, and in the history of the Duke of Ormond, 1st vol. p. 177, 178, states that though some writers had swelled the amount of the murdered to upwards of one hundred thousand, yet that Peter Walsh, a Romish fryar, calculated the number slaughtered to amount to eight thousand only; but that Sir William Petty in his Political Anatomy of Ireland, computed the number of Protestants massacred in cold blood, in the first year of the Irish rebellion, to amount to thirty-seven thousand, and to this last calculation, Mr. Carte gives his own approbation, founded on the known abilities of Sir William Petty, his skill in calculation, and the opportunities he had of obtaining authentic information, he having, shortly after this dreadful period, surveyed the whole kingdom. It is here to be remarked that in Mr. Hume's account Englishman and Protestant are synonymous, the native Irish Romanists to this day counting every Protestant, though of Irish name and family, an Englishman, and having, as I have already observed, but one word in their language to signify both. Did you mean to insult the citizens of Dublin by justifying this horrid massacre, as a just retaliation on the Irish Protestants, as oppressors of the Irish nation? What opinion do you think the citizens of Dublin will entertain of the heart of the man, who could justify so barbarous a transaction? Surely every Protestant in the nation, and every Romanist too, who is not one of *your energetics*, will hold the same opinion of its advocate, as Mr. Hume held of the event itself, to wit, that he is worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence!

I have cited this historical account of the Irish massacre in the words of the historian, without adding one tittle to it, not with a view of awakening old animosities, and exciting to new outrages, the purpose for which you lugged it head and shoulders into your address.

I am perfectly convinced that many, I hope and believe a great majority, of the Irish Romanists of the present day, hold

hold it in as much abhorrence as I do, but I have taken this notice of it, because you have provoked it ; and to hold you up in your proper colours to the nation, which you have insulted by justifying it, to shew the reasonable Romanists, (for I write not to your *energetics*) to what barbarous and dangerous extremities you are urging them, merely for the gratification of your own ambition, and avarice ; and to dissect and expose to public inspection, the heart of a man, capable of publishing to the world his approbation of the barbarous Irish massacre, and of the present horrible nocturnal murders, conflagrations, and robberies, perpetrated by your *popular and energetic Romanists*, throughout a great part of this nation, exactly of the same kind with those perpetrated by the Irish rebels in the year 1641, and which you emphatically stile, *the exertions of the spirit of political reformation, operating for liberty in most instances*, and which in your address you stimulate them to, as well by your avowed approbation of former massacres, as by telling them, that the exertions of the present government, in stationing and employing the king's army in different parts of the nation, for the suppression of these murders and robberies, and the protection of the loyal and peaceable subjects, under the guidance of the civil magistrates, are murders, and the minister a murderer, and employer of murderers ; thus you call the energetic Romanists, to arms ! thus you sound the trumpet of insurrection and massacre, by the most notorious and malignant falsehoods !

“ The minister (you exclaim) destroyed liberty, and property,
 “ he consumed the press, he burned houses and villages,
 “ he *murdered* and he failed (that is, my brave confederates,
 “ he has not yet been able to suppress the murders, and robberies of you the *energetic Romanists*) recall your murderer, we said, and in his place, dispatch our messenger, try
 “ conciliation,” that is, banish your magistracy, recall the army, who are sub-murderers, from the country, extinguish all law, abandon the loyal and peaceable Irish Protestant subjects, to murder, robbery and conflagration, give the kingdom up without further contest to the *popular and energetic Romanists*, and submit your throats to the knife, without further

ther struggle ; for *the mass of the people, the Irish nation*, are determined to massacre you all, you are foreigners, *murderers*, and merit slaughter.

I cannot yet dismiss your answer to the address of the Romanists assembled at Francis-street Chapel without one further remark as well on your vanity, as your deceit : you mention therein during the very short government of Earl Fitzwilliam that, “ we” (meaning yourself and your puny faction of ten or twelve members in the House of Commons) “ obtained a great force and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people ;” and you add, “ it is no proof of wisdom to take the taxes and continue the abuses, to dash away the affection of the people of Ireland, to select the moment when the people of Ireland came forward with her blood and treasure, resolute to stand or fall with the British nation, to plant a dagger in her heart.” These paragraphs are a continued chain of deceit ; ist, you intended to insinuate, that by your influence, and that of your party in the House of Commons, a large supply was procured in the lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, and a considerable increase of troops voted ; do you think any man in Ireland, can be imposed upon by such legerdemain ? The exertions and influence of you and your party, could not have added or deducted, one shilling, to, or from, the supply ; nor one man to, or from, the number of troops voted ; you might indeed have retarded the supply, perhaps for a couple of days, by your frothy harangues, and you might by such means, have detained the members of the House of Commons for a night or two to late hours ; the impotence of you, and your party in the House, is so well known, that your boast of having obtained a great force and a great supply, instead of procuring you any credit, only excites laughter at your extravagant vanity, in those who know, and consider only your imbecility ; a sneer of contempt at your deceit, in those who know you intended this part of your answer to the address, for the inspection of the English Jacobins, your masters, to induce them to believe that you are of great weight and consequence in the Irish House of Commons, and might, if you had
thought

thought proper, have defeated or diminished the supply; and a stare of surprize in all, at your impudence, in openly publishing in Ireland, what every man in Ireland, who has ever adverted to public affairs, knows to be a falsehood. Secondly, you intended to insinuate, that you and your friends procured an ample supply, and an additional number of troops on the terms express or implied, that government should exert all its interest to cause your bill for what you stile *Catholic emancipation*, to be enacted into a law, and that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was a breach of the terms, and a stab to the heart of the nation; but it is evident no such terms could have been agreed upon, because the whole nation knew that you and your friends could neither procure the grant or the denial of a supply, therefore no terms could have been made with you or them, on that score; it is indeed certain enough that Earl Fitzwilliam, or rather you his governor, did determine to exert all the interest and power of government to cause that bill to pass into a law, and that such exertion of that interest was defeated by the sudden recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, but that his recall, and the defeat of such a bill, were considered by the *nation* as a *national* calamity, as a stab to the heart of the nation, and as a signal instance of ingratitude, after ample supplies had been voted by the Irish House of Commons, is a falsehood as groundless as any other contained in your address; for every Protestant in the nation, except some usurpers of that name, the disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, shewed every demonstration of joy on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, that is, a body of the Irish people possessing forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed property of Ireland, and at least nineteen parts out of twenty, of the personal property, the great landed and moneyed interest of the kingdom; and as to the bill for what you fraudulently stile the *emancipation of the Roman Catholics*, you informed your *popular and energetic Romanists*, your committee of nine, in your answer to the address of them and their mob, that you meant with *their permission* to introduce their bill, immediately after the recess, which took place on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, which permission that most respectable committee of nine,

composed

composed of traders, shopkeepers, and empirics, by their resolution of the 9th of April 1795, most graciously conceded to you : after the playing of this farce, between you and this doughty committee, you introduced this bill into the House of Commons out of which it was scouted by an immense majority of the House, you and about twenty more, only, supporting it; what proof then have you of the truth of your assertions that the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, was a stab to the heart of the nation, and a mark of the blackest ingratitude to the *nation*, which had granted ample supplies? almost the whole body of the landed and moneyed interest of the nation, manifested the utmost joy on the recall of that nobleman, and the same House of Commons, which had granted the supplies, almost unanimously scouted out your emancipation bill, the favourite measure of that nobleman and those employed by him; in short, it is plain, that in your answer you mean fraudulently to impose your Romanist committee, and their mob, your *popular and energetic Romanists*, on your Jacobin masters in England, as the Irish nation, the Irish people; so much for your answer to the address of the *popular and energetic Romanists* assembled in Francis-street Chapel.

The Romish committee having by your advice dispatched three delegates to the British court, as ambassadors with a remonstrance, which they presented to his majesty at his levee, against the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and being there received with all the contempt, which the presumption and absurdity of their mission merited, returned to Ireland and summoned another meeting of their party, at the Romish Chapel in Francis-street on the 9th of April 1795, four members of your committee of nine here displayed their oratorical abilities; as they were all known to be your puppets, and to act under your control, and instructions, a short account of the proceedings of this assembly and of the tendency of their speeches will serve more clearly to illustrate your dangerous projects; one principal object with this assembly, was, to impose a belief on the Irish Protestants remote from Dublin, that the pretensions of these *popular and energetic Romanists*, were favoured by the body of the Protestants of Dublin, and

Proceedings of the Romish assembly at Francis-street Chapel on the 9th of April 1795, their public declarations of their republican principles, and their determined hostility to Great Britain; and their recognition of Mr. Tone, a French spy, as one of their agents, as well as Mr. Grattan.

to give a countenance to this fraud, a few Romish students of Trinity College, Dublin, (Romanists having been shortly before enabled by act of parliament to receive their education in that seminary) repaired to that assembly; their appearance at the Romish Chapel was pre-concerted, they were received with great acclamation, and one of the orators welcomed them in a most bombastic address; he affected, as did the rest of the assembly, to treat them as if they were the whole of the Protestant students of the College of Dublin, although all the assembly knew the contrary; many of these young men being the children of leading Romanists then present, and they were part of a body, who had on that day presented a fulsome address to you, and were then returning after perfuming your idolship with their incense; two of these Romish students in their turn harangued the assembly, and inveighed with all the bitterness of the most malignant Romish natives, against all connexions between Great Britain and Ireland; they appeared to be perfectly well tutored in all the rebellious doctrine of separation of this country from Britain; in all the Romish publications of the transactions of this assembly, the attendance of this handful of students is blazoned forth, as if it was the attendance of all the members of the Protestant University of Dublin; the speeches uttered at this assembly were published in most of the daily papers in Dublin, and were carefully copied into Jacobin Newspapers in London; one orator, of the name of M'Nevin,* one of the committee of nine, after representing Great Britain as almost totally subdued by the arms of France, advises the Romanists immediately, and during the war, to commence all kind of hostilities against Britain, and thus declaims, " what may we
 " not expect from the madness of her returning prosperity,
 " when amidst the *wreck of all her greatness*, by a treatment
 " equally irritating and unjust, she seems to solicit insurrec-
 " tion

* This is the M'Nevin, who was, after this transaction, dispatched by the United Irishmen, to treat with the French Directory, and induce them to invade Ireland. On confession of his treasons, his life has been spared; he is now a Prisoner at Fort George in Scotland, and was one of the committee of nine.

tion among the people, or to command a dereliction of their rights!" Throughout all their speeches, these Romish orators affect to take it as granted, that what they call Catholic emancipation, is the wish of all the people of Ireland, that the Protestants of Ireland are attached friends to their pretensions, or too inconsiderable to be at all considered in the discussion of them, and that they are only opposed by the British ministry; such deception they think may have weight in England, where the falsehood, the utter contempt of truth, the meanness, poverty and impotence of the declaimers are unknown, but they well know, that they and their assertions, are treated with due contempt in Ireland.

The same orator proceeds thus: "It is the protection of England, which has taken away your regular army to be employed in her *impious crusade*, her protection has not left you a port from Bilboa to the Baltick, and involved you in a war, in which had she been successful, *had not the judgment of God overtaken her*, she would have the power, and I doubt not, the inclination, to rivet your bolts for ever, her protection has been well compared to that of the exalted oak in the thunder storm; to the unphilosophic clown who seeks its shade, the tree serves to conduct more unerringly the lightning's force upon his head; the moment is at hand, when the world shall know how to estimate the connexion of both countries, and the independence of our state; the problem will be now resolved, whether Ireland be a free and *imperial* nation, or only an out-lying province to Great Britain."

All these orators magnified the general population of Ireland, and the excess of the number of Romanists, over that of the Protestants in it, beyond all bounds of truth and probability; and further to excite rebellion, they diminished the population of Britain in the same degree, and descanted throughout, on defeats and discomfitures of the British arms, which never happened, and they all in the most violent terms reprobated all ideas of an union with Great Britain, and urged the necessity of a parliamentary reform.

Another

Another of these orators of the name of Ryan, a member of the committee of nine, endeavoured in his harangue, to persuade such of his audience as had taken the oath enjoined to be taken by the act of 1793 by all Romanists who were desirous of having the benefit of that act, that nothing contained in that oath, could prevent them from endeavouring to overthrow the present Protestant Church establishment in Ireland.—The clause in the oath relating to the church establishment is as follows :

“ And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure
 “ any intention to subvert the present church establishment,
 “ for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its
 “ stead.”

The argument of the last mentioned orator, is thus :
 “ You have not absolutely sworn, that you will not endeavour to subvert the present Protestant Church establishment ; you have only sworn that you will not endeavour to subvert it, for the purpose of substituting a Romish Church establishment in its room ; but notwithstanding this oath, you may subvert the present Protestant Church establishment, provided you do not substitute a Romish establishment in its room ; now when we subvert the present, we will live without any establishment, and we will not substitute a Romish establishment in the room of that subverted :” his words on this occasion are remarkable, “ and I will say, that I have
 “ reason to think that Catholics, so far from being willing
 “ to subvert one establishment, *in order to substitute their own*
 “ *in its place*, would not, if all establishments were levelled
 “ to the ground, desire or consent to build up an exclusive
 “ establishment for their own clergy and their own creeds.”—

This assembly then came to several resolutions, some of them I shall insert.

“ Resolved unanimously, that we are sincerely and unalterably attached, to the rights, liberties, and *independence*
 “ of our native country, and we pledge ourselves, *collectively*
 “ and *individually*, to resist, even our own emancipation—if
 “ proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an
 “ acquiescence, in the fatal measure of *an union*, with the
 “ sister kingdom.”

“ Resolved

“ Resolved unanimously, that the right hon. Henry Grattan be requested to introduce the Catholic bill, immediately on the meeting of parliament.”

“ Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be respectfully presented to our agent, *Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq.* for the readiness with which he accompanied our deputies to England, and the many other *important services*, he has rendered to the Catholic body in pursuit of emancipation, *services which no gratitude can overrate, and no remuneration can overpay.*”

Before I proceed further in detailing the conduct of you, and your confederates, the *popular and energetic Romanists*, it is necessary for me to explain, not to you, but to the public, who this Mr. Tone, your fellow agent for the Romish committee of nine, is, and what his public conduct has been; as such explanation, will strongly tend to illustrate your conduct in some particulars, and to clear away all doubts respecting your real designs.

This Mr. Tone* is the son of a mechanic of some sort in Dublin, who found means to procure him an education in the College of Dublin, and he afterwards made his way to the bar; he formed that society of assassins, the United Irishmen; his name has often appeared as secretary to that pack of blood-hounds; in 1792 he published a pamphlet, entitled, *An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*; the object of it is to shew the *deplorable state* of Ireland, arising from her *connexion with Great Britain*, to prove that the emancipation of the Romanists, by their admission into the legislature will be followed necessarily by a *parliamentary reform*, and that such *reform*, produced by such means, will enable Ireland to exist, as an independent state, perfectly severed from Great Britain; he states that every hour brings forth to
Ireland

Account of
Mr. Tone.

* Since the first publication of this answer, Tone was apprehended on board the Hoche French man of War, taken by Sir John Borlase Warren, on the coast of Ireland, with troops on board for the invasion of Ireland. He was in a French uniform, and alleged that he was an adjutant-general in the French army. He was tried, and condemned to be hanged and quartered for High Treason; the morning of the day, appointed for his execution, he cut his own throat, and thus defrauded the gallows. His brother was taken with Humbert, the French general, and hanged.

Ireland infinite resources and provocations to independence, he lavishes the highest praises on the national assembly of France, describing them, "as a body of representatives, not
 " of their constituents merely, but of man, whose nature
 " they have exalted beyond the limits, that even Providence
 " seemed to have bounded it by;" he closes his pamphlet, by an address to the people of Ireland, in these words, "let
 " them once cry reform, and the Catholics of Ireland are free,
 " independent, and happy."

This pamphlet recommended Mr. Tone to your committee of nine, your *popular and energetic Romanists*, they employed him as your co-adjutor in emancipation, and voted him the sum of fifteen-hundred pounds for his trouble.

A man of the name of Jackson was sent over to Ireland in the beginning of the year 1794, by the French convention, as a spy, to procure them intelligence of the state of Ireland, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the practicability of an invasion; Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and Doctor Reynolds, both of them now exiles, outlawed for high treason, and Mr. Tone, now an exile too, immediately on the arrival of the French spy, formed a strict connexion with him; Rowan was introduced to him by a man of the name of Lewins,* one of the orators at this assembly in Francis-street Chapel of the 9th of April 1795, a remarkable Romish agitator; Tone being a man of letters and a barrister, was fixed on by the French spy, to draw up a state of Ireland to be transmitted to the French convention, to encourage them to invade the kingdom; this business Mr. Tone, co-agent with you for the Irish Romanists, performed in April 1794. Jackson was arrested by the government in the same month, and after putting off his trial by affidavits, once or twice, he was at length tried, and convicted of high treason, at the bar of the court of King's Bench, on the 23d of April 1795, and being brought up to receive sentence on the 30th of that month, he died at the bar, having previously swallowed poison; his aforesaid associates made their escapes; on this trial, the paper drawn up
 by

* Since the first publication of this answer, Lewins was dispatched to France by the United Irishmen, and is now their accredited agent, with the French Directory.

by Tone, as a state of this nation, for the use of the French convention, was read in evidence, having been intercepted at the post-office; in this paper, this co-agent with you for the Irish Romanists, grossly mistakes the relative numbers of inhabitants of different sects; he reduces the Protestants of the established church to one half their number, he more than doubles the number of Protestant dissenters, indeed he trebles it, and he adds at least one-third to the number of Romanists; his reason for thus falsifying is obvious, he was a man of desperate fortune, he was as firmly attached to the project of the separation of this nation from Great Britain, as you, or the assembly at Francis-street Chapel, his and your employers; Mr. Tone's attachment to this project may be seen by his writings, and that of the assembly at Francis-street, by their speeches, published by themselves with great ostentation, in which they publicly avow the doctrine of separation: Mr. Tone very well knew, that the execution of such a project, could not be even attempted with any reasonable prospect of success, without the aid of an army of French assassins, and he was apprehensive, if he stated the relative numbers of the inhabitants of Ireland of different sects truly, that the French would decline the hazard of an expedition to Ireland: In respect however to the property, political opinions, and inclinations, of the different sects, his statement is more to be depended on, though not accurately true; it proceeds thus: "The Protestants of the established church have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honors of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property; the dissenters are steady republicans, devoted to liberty, and through all the stages of the French revolution, have been enthusiastically attached to it; the Catholics, the great body of the people, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, because no change can make them worse; the whole peasantry may be said to be Catholics, they are in a semi-barbarous state, which of all others is the best adapted for making war; *in Ireland the very name of England, and her power is universally odious, save with those who have*

Mr. Tone's
state of Ire-
land for the
use of the
French
convention.

“ an interest in maintaining it, that is, with the Protestants
 “ of the establishment, who compose the parliament, and
 “ grand juries, and are aristocrats, whose very tenantry, and
 “ dependants would desert and turn against them, on the
 “ first convulsion, which would level them in the dust ; the
 “ dissenters are enemies to the English power, from reason,
 “ and from reflexion, *the Catholics from a hatred of the English*
 “ *name, resulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries ;*” and
 he states the same grievances which you have so often com-
 plained of, to wit, “ the church establishment, the payment
 “ of tythes, the government prosecutions, the convention act,
 “ the gun powder act, &c. &c.” all which he represents,
 “ as depressing public spirit, and as leaving no method for
 “ the people to make their sentiments known, but by war,”
 that is, by open rebellion when the French army shall arrive,
 and by nocturnal murders and plunder, until that blessed pe-
 riod.—So far proceeded your co-agent for the Romanists,
 your fellow labourer in the vineyard of emancipation, in his
 treasonable correspondence with the enemy !

However heightened the colouring of this picture, drawn
 by the pencil of Mr. Tone, of the situation of this country,
 for the inspection of the French convention, may be, the
 time of painting it, and several traits in it are very well wor-
 thy of notice ; at the very time he painted it, in April 1794,
 and for a long time before, he was the acknowledged agent,
 of the *popular and energetic Romanists*, the identical persons
 who employed you ; and the ostensible employment of you
 both, was the work of what you and these Romanists frau-
 dulently stile *emancipation* ; at that very time, it was noto-
 rious, that he had carried on, or attempted to carry on, a
 treasonable correspondence with the enemy, with the privity
 at least of some of the Romanist orators, at this assembly of
 Francis-street Chapel, particularly a man of the name of
 Lewins, as has been proved on Jackson’s trial ; this assembly
 voted him as their agent, their thanks for many *important*
services he had rendered to the Catholic body, in pursuit
 of *emancipation*, services as they describe them, which *no gra-*
titude

titude can overrate, and no remuneration can overpay ; they do not think fit to state, what these services were ; your services, or part of your services, to these Romanists, were, your violent exertions in the House of Commons in their favour, and your planning their several applications to parliament. Mr. Tone was not in parliament, and could not serve them that way ; but Mr. Tone had written a pamphlet, in which he strongly recommended a total separation of this country from Great Britain, as the only method by which the Romanists could compleatly emancipate themselves ; and as such separation could not be effected by any other means, than by an army of French murderers, and as these *popular and energetic* Romanists, assembled at Francis-street Chapel, the employers both of you and him, have fairly, and unequivocally, expressed their approbation of separation ; it is by no means unreasonable to conjecture, that Mr. Tone's correspondence with the French convention, and his endeavours to induce them to send an army to invade this country, *were the important services, which no gratitude can overrate, and no remuneration can overpay*, rendered by him to the Catholic body, in pursuit of emancipation, mentioned in their resolution, but which they dared not openly avow, on account of their treasonable nature. It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Tone on this occasion, repeats the same pretended grievances of the nation, which you have so often repeated, and also that he pointedly admits, that the only friends of the British connexion in the country, the only loyal subjects, the only decided enemies of the French revolution, and the people who possess almost the whole property of the country, are the Protestants of the established church ; he also pointedly admits, what has so often been objected against the Irish Romanists, and against their claims to political power, their inveterate and invincible hatred of the English name, nation, and empire ; he also pointedly admits that the bulk of them are the peasantry of Ireland, the most wretched in Europe, and that they are in a semi-barbarous state ; will you not admit, sir, that Mr. Tone your co-adjutor, the acknowledged agent of the *popular*

and energetic Romanists (whom you every where and on every occasion state, to be representatives of the whole mass of the Irish Romanists, and their assembly, the only legitimate organ empowered to express the sentiments of that whole body,) the man to whom that assembly had voted the sum of fifteen hundred pounds at one time for his services, and also their thanks in the most energetick manner; will you not, I say, admit that he knew this body, and their opinions, as well as you, and was as capable of forming a right judgment of them? and how ridiculous are your pathetic rants, about the hardship of the exclusion of Romanists, from about thirty of the great offices of the state and from seats in the legislative body, that is, the exclusion of a body of subjects, of little property, and incurably disaffected to the civil and religious establishments, of the nation, (if their own agent, your worthy co-adjutor Mr. Tone, is to be believed,) from the legislative and superior executive capacity!

Further to demonstrate that your co-agent Mr. Tone, entertained the same project with yourself, the total separation of the two nations, I shall give a short extract from a letter of Mr. Tone, to a confidential correspondent of his in the North of Ireland, engaged in the same conspiracy, for raising a rebellion in this kingdom; this letter is published by the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, in their report of the 10th of May, 1797, and appears to have been written early in the year 1794, at which time it may be inferred from a passage in the letter, that you and Mr. Tone had no connexion, and when from his want of knowledge of you, he had great doubts, whether you or your party could be prevailed on to support measures, which by your answer to the address of the Romanists, on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and by your present address, it appears you have now very fully adopted, and which probably you had adopted before: the extract is as follows: "My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prof-

"perity, is in the influence of England; I believe that influ-

"ence will ever be extended, while the *connexion* between the

“ two countries continues ;” then the letter, alluding to resolutions contained in it, goes on thus, “ nevertheless, as I know that opinion is for the present, too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions ; I have not said one word, that looks like a wish for *separation*, though I give it to you, and your friends, as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be, a regeneration to this country.” In the same letter Mr. Tone calls the *French Revolution* the *Morning Star* of liberty to Ireland.

You had not at the time this letter was written, publicly avowed your plan of emancipation, you were not at that time, in the honourable employment of co-agent, for the *popular* and *energetic* Romanists, with Mr. Tone, and therefore in this letter, he expresses some doubts of your political creed, which you have since very compleatly satisfied.

The resolution of this assembly at Francis-street Chapel, expressive of the firm determination of the whole Romanist party there assembled, to resist an union with Great Britain, and rather to relinquish their favourite measure of emancipation, than consent to such a measure, was not at all called for by any circumstance relating to the ostensible cause of their meeting ; it originated entirely in that inveterate hatred, which Mr. Tone, your colleague in the agency for the Romanists, asserts, that all Irish Romanists entertain of England, her natives and her power ; and even their own interest could not prevent them from declaring it so far as they dared, though much out of time.

It has been the opinion of very great and able statesmen, that an union with England, on just and equitable terms, would be very advantageous to Ireland, would contribute greatly to increase her trade, and her opulence, and conduce to the strength of the empire at large, and in any event, it could not be more prejudicial to the Romanists of Ireland, than to any other class of his majesty's subjects here, but much less, (if it could be at all prejudicial, which I cannot admit) in as much, if we were one people with the British nation, the preponde-

rance of the Protestant body of the whole empire would be fo great, that all rivalship and jealousies, between Protestants and Romanists would cease for ever, and it would not be necessary for the safety of the empire at large, to curb Romanists, by any exclusive laws whatsoever ; but the immortal hatred of these *energetic* Romanists, to the British name, nation, and religion, and the annihilation of all their hopes of an independent Romish republic in Ireland, which they foresaw would be the effect of an union, chased from their minds in a moment all ideas of reason, prudence, and interest, and induced them, without any necessity whatsoever, to express their hostility to Britain ; a conduct, which I hope will give the British ministers proper ideas of the danger of countenancing any further innovations, in church or state in Ireland, projected by you and your associates, in favour of Irish Romanists.

The settled determination of your associates and employers, the Romish committee of nine, and the *popular* and *energetic* Romanists, whom you stile the great body of the Catholics, and also of your colleague in the work of emancipation, Mr. Tone, being thus published and declared for the separation of the two countries, and it being also avowed by him, that the obtaining of what they stile emancipation, and also parliamentary reform, was only considered by them as ancillary to separation, and to the establishment of an independent Romish republic in Ireland ; and your colleague, thinking that the business could not be completed without a rebellion at home, and the aid of a French army of invaders, and having accordingly solicited such aid, I shall now quote a few passages from your address to your fellow citizens of Dublin, to afford them some further assistance in judging, whether your opinions upon these projects, and the means of effecting them, are not the same with those of your employers, *the popular and energetic Irish Romanists*, and of your colleague Mr. Tone ; and whether all your proceedings, do not directly tend to the same point with those of your aforesaid colleague and employers

As to emancipation and reform, you have so publicly avowed that they are the object of your pursuit, both in and out of parliament, in all your speeches and addresses, for these

two years past, that it is needless to quote any passage to prove that you have openly patronized the measures. As to separation, which includes rebellion, and invasion, you have observed some caution; you have thought it prudent to disguise your opinion on this daring measure under a veil, but it is a veil of thin gauze, scarce sufficient to cover you from legal prosecution, your view in using any disguise at all.

Mr. Tone ascribes the inveterate hatred of the English name and nation in the Irish Romanists, to the tyranny of the English government in Ireland, for near seven centuries; you do not go so far back; you begin your account of the horrible oppression of the Irish, by the English government, with the reign of James the first; you then proceed to the reign of Charles the first, and justify and approve the horrible Irish massacre of that reign, as a measure of just resistance and retaliation; you state, that all the present nightly murders, robberies, and conflagrations, arise from the "spirit of public reformation, carried to different degrees, to liberty in most instances," you represent the minister, without specifying who the Minister is, *as a murderer of the people*, notoriously meaning, that the government, that is, those employed by the king in the different offices of it, are murderers of the people; you state that peerages are sold, consequently that the House of Peers is degraded, (this you asserted in parliament, you were called on for your proofs, you could produce none) you vilify in the basest manner, the House of Commons, calling it a *borough parliament*, meaning, I presume, a *borough house of parliament*, as if all the members of it were members or boroughs only, and stating that all boroughs are venal, that the members for such boroughs are not representatives of the people, and that all their acts are gross oppressions of the people. Thus you vilify, degrade, and traduce, king, lords, and commons, the whole constitutional supreme legislative and executive power of the nation, and tell the nation, that all acts of parliament, that have been enacted since the commencement of the reign of James the first, are wicked and unwarranted impositions, calculated to encourage and authorize

thorize the commission of murder, rapine, and every species of oppression on the Irish subjects, and “ on the whole, “ that the cause of the Irish distraction of 1797, was the “ conduct of the servants of government, endeavouring to “ establish by unlimited bribery, absolute power; that the “ system of coercion, was a necessary consequence, and “ part of the system of corruption, and that the two systems, “ in their success, would have established a ruthless and horrid tyranny—tremendous and intolerable, imposed on the “ senate by influence, and the people by arms.” You make the following eulogy, on the Irish peasantry, by a part of whom, all the present nocturnal murders, and depredations, are committed, “ to vindicate their native energy, against a “ vulgar error, they are a strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious warm-hearted and *faithful race of men.*” Some of them are certainly, very fit for the purpose of you and your colleague Mr. Tone, and are so far *faithful*, that it is difficult to prevail on them to impeach their accomplices.

You then proceed to your bead-roll of grievances, which you commence with enumerating certain inequalities in the trade, between Great Britain and Ireland, and close it with the following grievances, “ the bar bill—the convention bill “ —the gunpowder bill—the indemnity bill—the second indemnity bill—the insurrection bill—the suspension of the “ habeas corpus—General Lake’s proclamation, by order of “ government—the approbation afforded to that proclamation—the subsequent proclamation of government, more “ military and decisive—the order for the military to act “ without waiting for the civil power—the imprisonment of “ the middle orders without law—the detaining of them in “ prison without bringing them to trial—the transporting “ them without law—burning their houses—burning their “ villages—murdering them; crimes many of which are “ concealed, by the suppression of a free press, by military “ force—the preventing legal meetings of counties, to petition his majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the “ military, to disperse them; subverting the subjects right to “ petition, and finally the introduction of practices, not only “ unknown

Mr. Grattan's list of grievances, with remarks upon.

“ unknown to law, but unknown to *civilized and christian*
 “ countries; such has been the working of the borough
 “ system, nor could such measures have taken place, but for
 “ that system.”

As to your pretended grievances in respect to trade, they have been often introduced by you and your party in debate in the House of Commons, where they have always met with a full and free discussion, and as far as I, who am no trader, nor much skilled in trade, have been able to judge, the matters of complaint, on the score of trade, have been always suggested by a few smuggling merchants on this side of the water, aided by a few of their confederates in Liverpool, who had projected schemes of advantage to themselves, and of damage to the fair traders, and the revenues both of England and Ireland, by an alteration in the rules of commerce established between the two countries; and these matters of complaint were adopted, and fostered with the greatest care and attention, by you, your puny party in parliament, and *your popular and energetic Romaniſts*, with a view of sowing the seeds of discord between the two countries; but all your propositions, respecting the inequality of trade between the two countries, since the free trade was established, have been uniformly rejected by a very great and decisive majority of the Irish House of Commons, whom no reasonable person will suppose, to be so blinded to the interest of the nation, and their own interest individually, as to reject your measures respecting trade, if they thought they would conduce to the increase of the wealth of the nation in general, and to that of their own tenantry and estates in particular. Your conduct in respect to laying what you termed protecting duties on English refined sugar, imported into this kingdom, convinces me either of your ignorance of trade or something worse; for by the operation of this law, a few sugar refiners in this kingdom, where that trade is a monopoly confined to about forty persons, have made astonishing fortunes, in a short period of time; particularly the president of your Romish convention, and of your standing Romish committee, their gains being at least eighty per cent. and the subjects of this kingdom pay on an average,

average, from six-pence to eight-pence per pound, for common lump sugar, more than is paid in England for the same commodity, of an infinitely superior quality; these protecting duties, and the consequent plunder of the Irish subject by these insatiable harpies the sugar-refiners, were your job in parliament, and its effect.

The first act of parliament you reprobate, to wit, the bar bill, is a bill appointing assistant barristers in the several counties, with small salaries, for the purpose of deciding suits by civil bill, in a summary way, and trying persons for small offences, at the sessions of the peace; all this business in Ireland fell under the cognizance of the judges of assize, at the two annual circuits; manor courts are very rare in Ireland; a great part of the business determined by civil bill in Ireland, is in England determined by the manor courts, which in that country are very numerous, and never falls under the cognizance of the judges of assize there; and it cannot be deemed any hardship on the subject, that country gentlemen acting as justices of peace, at a quarter sessions or sessions of the peace, should be assisted by a barrister, having some knowledge of the profession of the law; the judges of assize complained that the business at assizes was so increased, that they were not able to go through it, and for these reasons, these assistant barristers were appointed, in the several counties throughout the kingdom; such appointments are the places complained of by you, as being created since the place-bill passed in parliament, which place-bill vacates the seat of any member of the House of Commons, who accepts of a place of honour or profit under the crown tenable at pleasure, and contains further incapacities respecting placemen; you complain of this bar-bill as tending to corrupt the bar, and increase the influence of the crown in the House of Commons; as to corruption of the bar, the salary to each barrister is so small, being 400*l.* per annum, and the duty so heavy, each being obliged to attend eight sessions of the peace annually, in the county to which he is appointed, that no man of any rank at the bar, and of talent worth purchasing, would accept the place of assistant barrister; and as to influence in the House
of

of Commons, all those barristers are excluded from seats in the House; such is your grievance of the bar-bill.

Your enumeration, in your list of grievances, of the exertions of the military, and of the civil magistrate, in suppression of disorders, more cruel, mischievous, and destructive than the operations of armies in civil wars, or organized rebellions, are all infinitely exaggerated by you, with every circumstance of the most malignant acrimony, and the necessity of the exertion, with more than ordinary turpitude, suppressed; in so much that the suppression of truth, in this your detail of grievances, betrays more deliberate rancour, and baseness of mind, than the suggestion of that which is false; one village only throughout the kingdom, and that a small one, consisting of mean thatched houses, in the county of Cavan, had been burned by the military in these troubles, before the publication of your address; upwards of one thousand men, all members of the gangs of assassins, called United Irishmen and defenders, and all to a man *energetic Romanists*, had assembled in and near that village, for the avowed purpose of destroying by fire and sword, a neighbouring colony of industrious Protestant weavers, who were brought from a remote part of the North of Ireland, and settled there, by the proprietor of the estate; a small party of the militia of the city of Dublin, then quartered in the town of Cavan, were brought out by the civil magistrate to suppress this banditti, they found themselves unequal to the business from the number of the insurgents, and were obliged to send to their fellow soldiers in Cavan for assistance; when the reinforcement appeared, the great body of the insurgents were posted on a hill at some distance from the village, through which it was necessary to march to attack and disperse them, and as the militia, consisting only of one company, marched through the village, and were in the middle of it, they were suddenly fired upon from all the windows of the houses on each side, and some of them killed and wounded; the houses were all, what in Ireland are called cabins, built of mud and clay, the covering thatch, the windows, if they can be so called, were small holes in these mud walls,

walls, and the entrances only larger holes; the firing was thick, and heavy, the militia for the preservation of their lives, were obliged to set fire to these houses, and they being contiguous one to the other, and the covering inflammable, the greater part of the village was burnt down, twenty or thirty of the assassins were slain, and the rest of the gang, seeing the ill success of their ambuscade, ran away; such is your burning of villages, and murdering the inhabitants. As to the burning of any other houses by the military, very few indeed have suffered in that way, and that only in such parts of the country, as the number of magistrates, required by the insurrection act, have by petition to government, declared to be in a state of insurrection, and which have been proclaimed so to be accordingly; and where the proceeding to such extremities became absolutely necessary, for the protection of the lives, and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects. The same is true, with respect to the transportation of some of your *popular and energetic Romanists*; the transportation was only sending them to man his majesty's fleet, and no person was ever sent to the fleet, except such as fell under the description in the insurrection act, or before that was enacted, such as were the most notorious and profligate vagabonds in the community, who had no visible way of getting a livelihood, and who were justly suspected of being a part of the gangs of nocturnal robbers and assassins, who were infesting the country; the military never acted, nor had orders to act, against the insurgents without the civil magistrate, except in cases of the utmost extremity, where the houses of the peaceable and loyal inhabitants would have been burned, themselves and their families butchered, and their property pillaged or consumed, had it not been for the intervention of the military.

It is untrue that legal meetings of counties to petition his majesty, have been prevented by orders given to the military to disperse them, where the sheriff of a county, or even a magistrate, had called the freeholders of the county, to meet for the purpose of petitioning his majesty, government has given no orders to the military, or others, to disperse

perfe them; you know that no fuch orders were given to difperfe two fuch meetings, which you and your affiliates held at the Royal Exchange, within twenty yards of the Caſtle of Dublin, the reſidence of the Lord Lieutenant, in the ſummer of 1797; and one of theſe meetings was called, as well as I recollect, by ſome freemen and freeholders of the city, without a magiſtrate; and they called to the meeting not only the freemen and freeholders of the city, but the *houſeholders*, in order to infure the attendance of a ſufficient mob, of *popular and energetic* Romaniſts; this laſt ſpecies of meeting, you call an *aggregate meeting*, and it was not called for the purpoſe of preparing a petition to his majeſty; and pray, ſir, who told you, that ſuch a meeting was legal, and in what book do you find the law ſo laid down? In my reading I have not been able to find it. It may be much doubted whether the ſheriff of a county has any ſpecial power of calling the freeholders of a county together, for any purpoſe whatſoever, on the requiſition of a certain number of freeholders of the county: he has power by law to call the county together, to attend at the aſſizes, at the quarter ſeſſions, and at elections of members of parliament, or any other county elections, and to attend his county court held monthly, and he can aſſemble the *poſſe comitatũs*, to enable him to execute the king's writs; in all theſe various aſſemblies of the county, the freeholders may, if they think fit, prepare petitions to his Majeſty, and they have opportunities recurring with ſufficient frequency for ſuch purpoſes; but admitting that the ſheriff of a county or a private freeholder, may at all times he thinks proper aſſemble his county, either with or without a requiſition of any freeholders for that purpoſe, where did you find the law, in what book, or in what record, that any freeholder of a county, or any number of freeholders has, or have, a right to aſſemble, not the *freeholders*, but the *houſeholders* of a county, to meet for the purpoſe of petitioning the King, or for any other purpoſe? ſir, you call ſuch *aggregate* meetings as theſe legal; my opinion is otherwiſe, I think they are not legal, even if the convention act, and the acts for ſuppreſſing riots, and
 unlawful

unlawful assemblies, were out of the question; they certainly tend to disorder and breach of the peace, by assembling the *mob*, and not the *freeholders* of the county, let the pretence for assembling be ever so plausible.

Another of your grievances, is the suppression of a free press, by military force; here you practise your usual malice and deceit, you do not expressly allege, that such suppression of a free press, by military force was by the orders of government; yet you evidently insinuate it, and wish it should be so understood; for you insert it in the list of grievances, which you impute to government; thus indirectly charging the government with invading the liberty of the press. The transaction to which you allude is, the destruction of the press and types of a printing-house in Belfast, in which was printed the *Northern Star*, the most flagitious paper that ever was published in any *civilized and christian country*, to use your own words, or in any country whatsoever, where any form of regular government was preserved; the circumstances I shall briefly detail. It was discovered that several private men in the militia regiment of the county of Monaghan quartered in Belfast, a town notorious for disaffection and sedition, had been seduced to become members of the infamous society of United Irishmen, and had taken the oath administered to all the members of that detestable gang of traitors; many of them were immediately arrested and tried by courts martial, four of them were condemned to be shot, and others of them to various species of military punishment; the four wretches condemned to death, when kneeling on their coffins, prepared for the fatal bullets, declared in the most solemn manner, that they had been seduced from their allegiance, and into the measures which brought them to their then deplorable situation, principally by reading the treasonable publications, in the *Northern Star*; and earnestly exhorted their fellow soldiers, never to read that flagitious paper: this pathetic dying exhortation, and the view of the bleeding carcases of these unhappy victims to treason, made such an impression upon the private soldiers of the regiment, that upon their return to their

their quarters they unanimously drew up a declaration of their sincere repentance and their determinations of loyalty for the future, in which they with great justice ascribed the seduction of their unfortunate companions and many of themselves to the wicked and treasonable artifices of the inhabitants of Belfast—this declaration one of their serjeants and a few of the privates carried to the two News-papers printed in that town; by one of them (the Belfast News-Letter) it was published; by the other (the Northern Star,) it was rejected with expressions of contempt and insult, though the poor men offered to pay for the insertion of it at any rate of advertising, which the printer should demand; this conduct in the printer of the paper, to which the regiment so justly attributed the misfortune of their companions, so incensed the private soldiers, that some of them on the following night stole from their quarters, broke into the printing-house, and demolished the press and types: now, sir, have you any proof whatsoever, or any reason for forming even a probable conjecture, that the above violence committed by a few private militia soldiers, was commanded or even countenanced in any manner by the government of this country? if so, what are your proofs or reasons? was not the law of the land open to redress those who were injured by the violence? were not the ears of the officers of the regiment open to any complaint, which might have been made on this occasion? had not the injured full opportunities of applying for redress, either to the common law of the land, or to the martial law, if they thought fit? did you ever hear that any persons employed under government, either directly or indirectly, interfered to screen the offenders from justice? if so, let us know their names, and the names of your informers; you cannot—you know you cannot—this pretended grievance, like the others, is the creation of your own malice, and every insinuation you can throw out against government, as restraining, or even in any manner checking or controlling the liberty of the press, stands fully and completely refuted by the impunity, which

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has hitherto attended the publication of the seditious and treasonable addresses, to which I now write an answer.

The remainder of your grievances are the several acts of parliament passed in this kingdom for the suppression of the present disorders, and the exertions of the magistracy and the military, in the execution of them; you tell the subjects of this country that the laws of the land, established by the joint consent of the king, lords, and commons, the supreme constitutional legislative power of the nation, are horrible oppressions, and the execution of them, *robbery and murder*, the effects of a "ruthless and horrid tyranny tremendous" and intolerable," and you thus impeach laws, the necessity and expediency of which were fully debated in the senate of the nation, before they were enacted, and there sanctioned, by the almost unanimous approbation, of the representatives of all the landed, and moneyed interest of the nation, of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled, you and your party in the House of Commons, who opposed these laws, never amounting (as I have already observed) on any one question relating to them, to the number of thirty, not more than six or seven of which were representatives for counties, and frequently dwindling to fourteen, and even to seven; and the most boisterous and noisy of your faction, who adhered to you on all questions, being members, for what you represent as venal boroughs.— You attribute the enactment of all these laws to the influence of the crown, exerted in the House of Lords, and Commons; you state that the king is the "*creature of the people*," and that he may commit treason, against his *creator the people*," and it is impossible to conceive that he can commit greater treason against the people, than by causing by his ministers, certain ordinances to obtain the sanction of laws, for the *murder*, and robbery of the people, "for establishing a ruthless, and horrid tyranny over them, tremendous and *intolerable*, and imposing it on the senate, by influence, and on the people by arms;" such are your expressions! The man who writes thus, cannot be supposed to mean, that such grievances can be remedied by the laws of
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the land, the enactors of which he thus calumniates and vilifies; when he tells the subject, that the laws are only a system of robbery and murder, of tyranny ruthless, horrid, tremendous and *intolerable*; he in fact, not only justifies the subject in taking arms against the government, but he stimulates him to do so; he must look to revolutionary measures for redress of those pretended grievances, he cannot look to constitutional ones, the Robespierian method of reforming the state is in your opinion the only effectual one.

I cannot overlook one trait of your character, which manifests itself in this your list of grievances; and that is, the most consummate assurance, that any mortal I have ever yet seen, or read of, was possessed of; you insert in this list of grievances, the very acts of parliament, and the exertions of the magistracy and military in the execution of them, which your own machinations, and those of your confederates, the *popular and energetic Romanists*, and of your colleague Mr. Tone, have rendered absolutely necessary for the preservation of the state, and of the lives, liberties and properties, of the peaceable and loyal subjects of it; for all people conversant in the affairs of Ireland know, that to you and to your afore-said confederates, to your and their seditious and treasonable publications, whether as speeches, answers, essays, or addresses, to your intrigues, plots, and conspiracies, may be fairly traced, as to efficient causes, all the outrages, murders, conflagrations, and devastations of the United Irishmen and defenders, and the consequent enactment of laws to suppress them, and the exertions of the civil magistracy and military in execution of the laws; your complaints are the same as would be those of a murderer and robber, if he should complain of the laws of society for the punishment of murder and robbery; but I never yet heard that any murderer or robber was impudent enough to make such complaint.

But, sir, you are not content with thus justifying rebellion, you feared that the *popular and energetic* Irish Romanists, together with the republican and atheistical Irish disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, usurping the name of Protestants, would hesitate a little, before they would embark in an open rebellion, for the purpose of effecting a separation

Mr. Grattan's views in exaggerating the power of France, and depreciating that of Great Britain, and in

introducing the separation of America from Britain into his address.

paration of this island from the British Empire; peace might be concluded between Great Britain and France, in which case the rebellion must be adjourned, and perhaps postponed *sine Die*. Your advice, to the *popular and energetic* Romanists by “no means to postpone the consideration of their “fortunes,” “till after the war,” required that your confederates should be expeditious in their operations; a dread of the fleets and armies of Great Britain palsied their exertions; this you undertook to cure by the stimulating blister of your address, and to compose it, you mixed up all your pungent provocative drugs of falsehood, misrepresentation, acrimonious invective, exaggeration, and depreciation, of which you have a most plentiful store; the power of France, without whose aid the work of separation could never be attempted or effected, was therefore to be magnified, and that of Great Britain diminished in the same ratio; and the success of the Americans in the cause of separation from the British Empire was to be decorated with all the pretty flowers of language and metaphor you were capable of culling.

The present war with France you represent as “unparalleled in expence and disgrace, and attended with the “grossest and rankest errors, closing the account of blood “with proclamations of insolvency, with the loss of our station in Europe, and of one hundred and thirty millions, “to lose that station,—to place the crown of England as low “in Europe, as America, and to put France at the head of “Europe, instead of Great Britain, while her people crouch “under a load of debt, and taxes, without an empire to console, or a constitution to cover them, the King of Great “Britain is put at the feet of France, he is driven out of almost all footing in Europe, and the enemy have made “gigantic encroachments on the British empire;” and all these evils and disasters you attribute to the ministers of the crown, that is, to the crown, employing corruption to sway a borough parliament, meaning the parliament of Great Britain, which you brand here with the epithet of a borough parliament, so often bestowed by you on the parliament of Ireland;

Ireland; you add also to the list of calamities, “ the loss of thirteen provinces in America, and of an hundred and twenty millions of money to lose those provinces.”

After painting Great Britain thus as an undone nation, despoiled of her territories, and at the feet of France, that is subdued by France, or unable to make any further resistance against her, and consequently unable to quell any insurrection or rebellion in Ireland, or to afford any assistance to the loyal subjects of Ireland, when such rebellion shall blaze out; you proceed to the praise of the American revolution, in which you make a clear avowal of your dangerous designs, and close your eulogy upon it, in a flourishing strain of figurative expression, alluding to a circumstance of Holy Writ, with which you thought proper to ornament, and enforce the menace contained in it, against all Irish loyalists, (that is, all the Protestants of the established church, and all the real christian Dissenters in Ireland, in whose possession is almost the whole of the landed and personal property of the kingdom) in case they should dare to oppose the projected rebellion of your *popular and energetic Romanists*, thus notoriously holding up the formation of a republic in America separated from Great Britain by the perfidious intervention of France, as an example worthy to be imitated by your Irish confederates. I shall quote the passage here: “ We saw in the
 “ American revolution, that a people determined to be free
 “ cannot be enslaved, that the British government was not
 “ equal to the task, even in plenitude of empire, supported
 “ by the different governments of the provinces, and by the
 “ *sad apostacy* of the hapless loyalist; that loyalist is a lesson
 “ to the rich and great, to stand by their country in all situ-
 “ ations—and that in a contest with a *remote court*, *the first*
 “ *post of safety is to stand by the country*, *the second post of*
 “ *safety is to stand by the country*, *and the third post of safety*
 “ *is to stand by the country*; in that American contest we
 “ saw that *reform*, which had been born in England, and
 “ banished to America, advanced like the shepherd lad in
 “ Holy Writ, and overthrew Goliath—he returned riding
 “ on the waves of the Atlantic, and his spirit moved on the
 “ waters

“ waters of Europe, the royal ship of France went down,—
 “ the British man of war labours.” And at the same time that you encourage your *popular and energetic Irish Romanists* to rebellion, by magnifying the power of France, and depreciating that of Great Britain, you encourage and incite the French, to invade your native country, by representing the power of Britain to be so enfeebled, and her resources so exhausted, that she cannot prevent the irruption of the French armies into this island, or even impede their progress when they shall land therein.

I shall first examine how far you are warranted by fact in your assertions of disgrace of the British arms, and of the gigantic encroachments of the enemy on the British empire, during this war, which she has been obliged to wage for self-defence only, against the unprovoked attack, of the most barbarous and faithless nation, which ever yet deluged the earth with the blood of the human species, and whose merciless hostilities against your country, you are wicked enough to represent as a war undertaken by them in the great cause of *popular liberty*. I cannot in the progress of this war, find any disgrace of the British arms, unless you are pleased so to stifle their inability to do, or failure in doing, all the mischief to the enemy, which every loyal subject might conceive or wish to be practicable; as for instance, the inability of our commanders to retain Toulon, though they had therein taken and destroyed a great part of the navy of France, demolished one of the greatest naval arsenals in the world; and for the present almost annihilated the French power in the Mediterranean Sea. A second instance is the inability of Earl Howe to take and destroy the whole French squadron which he engaged, he only took six capital ships, and so disabled the rest, that some of them have remained as wrecks in the port of Brest ever since, and have been condemned as irreparable, the remainder lay in port unrepaired for a year afterwards. A third instance, a similar inability in Lord Bridport, who only took and destroyed part of the enemy's fleet, and keeps all the rest now besieged in Brest, but cannot take that fortress, nor destroy the remains of the French navy inclosed in
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its port. The inability of the British arms to retain the island of Guadaloupe, after they had conquered it, or compleatly to reduce the French colony of St. Domingo; though they have reduced the French to the necessity of utterly desolating these two almost-invaluable colonies, and rendering them for ever unproductive to France, or nearly so, by their putting arms into the hands of their negro slaves, for the defence of them; the negroes having now got the whole civil and military power in those islands into their hands, will never return to the mattock or the hoe; they will defend these islands for themselves, not for their former French masters. Other instances of disgraces and defeats of the British arms in this war are, the inability of Earl St. Vincent to reduce Cadiz, and seize the whole Spanish fleet, though with a squadron greatly inferior in number of ships, men, and guns, he defeated the Spanish fleet, took four of their capital ships, drove the rest into Cadiz, where he has besieged them now for upwards of nine months, cruising at the mouth of the principal harbour of Spain, in the sight, and almost within gun shot of a fleet vastly superior in number, and annihilating the trade of that emporium of European commerce. The inability of Admiral Duncan, compleatly to destroy the Dutch fleet, though he has taken and destroyed two-thirds of it, and keeps the remainder blocked up in the Texel, utterly annihilating the Dutch trade; whilst the squadron which that power found means to send abroad has become an easy prey to the British navy; such have been the only disgraces experienced by the British arms, in the course of this war. Let us now enquire what have been the gigantic encroachments of the enemy on the British Empire in the course of the war. I cannot find any encroachments, not even pigmy ones; I can find that Britain has made very great and very valuable encroachments on the territories of the enemy during the war; she has seized the most valuable possessions of the French in the West Indies, and has compelled them, conscious of their inferiority, to desolate the remainder, that they might not, if conquered, increase the power of Britain. She has driven France from the Newfoundland fishery, and

seized the islands St. Pierre, and Miquelon, in the gulph of St. Laurence. She has expelled France from the East Indies, except from two small islands, unproductive in themselves, and retained by the French at a very great expence, as a station for their piratical cruisers, which the British power in the East Indies so control, that their depredations do not answer the expence of their equipment. Britain has seized on the Cape of Good Hope, the key of eastern commerce, and of the island of Ceylon, in which is the only port, Trincomale, where great ships can refit, from Bombay to the mouth of the Ganges; and by these means she has secured to herself the exclusive commerce of the whole great peninsula of India. She has also seized on the spice islands, those inexhaustible mines of wealth. The French themselves admit, that they have made no encroachments on Britain, for their only demand on the last negotiation of peace was, that Britain should restore all her conquests on the territories of France, and her allies, which demand was as scornfully rejected by Britain, as it was insolently made. With as little truth do you assert that the king of Great Britain is put at the feet of France, and driven out of all footing in Europe. What territory did the monarch of Britain possess in Europe, before the war, which he does not now possess? If the troops which he sent to the aid of the Dutch, have been forced to abandon Holland, it was not in consequence of any defeat which they suffered, it was in consequence of the treachery of a Jacobin faction in Holland, which had sold their country to the French. Such traitors were not to be defended, and that unhappy country now groans under the most intolerable internal slavery to the French, and as it is in fact become a province of France, Great Britain engaged in a war with France has possessed herself of all the external powers of that state, to wit, her commerce and her colonies. In fact, Great Britain has at present possessed herself of almost the whole commerce of the European world, and has destroyed that of France, Spain, and Holland. The British monarch is not "*worked out of his Empire,*" as you assert, nor has Britain lost any part of her European territories, and therefore

therefore she has lost no footing in Europe, which she possessed before the war, except her commercial footing with France and her allies, which she must always lose in every war with France, whilst the war continues. Having thus exposed the falsity of your statement of the present situation of Britain with respect to power and Empire, I shall not waste my time, in defending the British constitution against your insolent attack in the following words: "The people of Britain are without an Empire to console, or a constitution to cover them:" it would be lost labour; the people of Britain (your Jacobin masters excepted) will only smile with contempt at such the groundless petulant invective of a little Irish demagogue!

Thus I have exposed your falsehood, in respect to the present situation of Britain, and your malevolent views, in introducing the American revolution into your address, and the loss of thirteen provinces to Great Britain in a former war, when Mr. Pitt, the minister to whom you allude, was not the prime minister, nor any minister whatsoever, and to whom you cannot impute the loss of these provinces. - As to the loss sustained by the British Empire, by the separation of these provinces from it, the amount of it is not very easily determined; there are men, and very able men too, who maintain that the relinquishment of the *jus dominii*, the right of direct dominion, over these provinces by Britain, has been so far from a loss to the latter country, that it is an advantage. They argue thus: colonies in distant regions are only advantageous to a parent country, so far as they afford a beneficial market for the commodities and manufactures of, or commerce to the parent country; in any other light, colonies in very distant regions are so far from being advantageous, that they are extremely prejudicial, as they are drains of the population of the parent country, as well as of her wealth, in defraying the expences of civil and military establishments within them, and involving the parent country in wars for their support; and if the parent country can retain the trade of a colony, without being at the expence of maintaining civil and military establishments within it, and without waging

Discussion of the question, Whether the power of Great Britain be diminished by the separation of America?

ing wars for its support, further than as it would support an allied power, the parent state will gain, and not lose, by its being dismembered from it; as the human frame is invigorated, not debilitated, by the lopping off a large wen, which during its adhesion sucks away its vital juices. These arguments they justify by experience; for they allege, that during the connexion between Great Britain and the thirteen states of America, these states involved Britain in more than one destructive war for their support, and put her to immense expence in maintaining civil and military establishments within them; that an attempt on the part of Britain to raise supplies from them for the maintenance of these establishments, when they were refused by their colonial assemblies, was the apparent immediate cause of the separation, although the real cause lay much deeper, in the secret intrigues of factious demagogues amongst them with the French nation, as may be proved from the Memoirs of the Marquis of Montcalm, French Governor of Canada, at the time the British arms expelled the French from North America; and that since this separation, Great Britain enjoys a much more extensive and beneficial trade with these states, than she did before; the exclusive benefit of which trade, the nature and quality of the wants and demands of the Americans, and of the products and manufactures of Great Britain, secure to her beyond any possible competition, at the same time that she is exonerated from the expence, and discharged from the military protection she was obliged to furnish, when they acknowledged her dominion: I fully acquiesce in the force of these arguments, as they carry conviction along with them, and I never heard them controverted; solid advantages contribute much more to the wealth and strength of an empire, than the vain parade of expensive and useless, though extensive, dominion; and no nation more strongly verifies this doctrine than Spain; for if her power was to be estimated by the extent of her colonies, she would be the most powerful nation upon earth.

You,

You, sir, have introduced the American Revolution into your address, to depreciate the British power; and to stimulate your *popular and energetic Irish Romanists* to revolt by the example, you tell them, "that they saw in the American Revolution, that a people determined to be free, cannot be enslaved," at the same time that you tell them, one great object with you, is their *emancipation*, consequently that they are at present slaves; you then proceed menacingly to admonish the rich and great, that is, all the Protestants of Ireland, the few Romish nobility and old gentry, and every Irishman of property, to join the insurgents, *your indigent energetic Romanists*, when the rebellion shall commence, by the example of the hard fate of the American loyalists, whom with equal falsehood and virulence you stile *apostates*; and you tell the rich and great, amongst the Irish, "that the American *apostate hapless loyalist*, is a lesson to them to stand by their country in all situations—and that "in a contest with a *remote court*" (meaning the British court) "the first post of safety is to stand by the country, "and the second post of safety is to stand by the country, "and the third post of safety is to stand by the country," *elegant climax!* The plain English of this is, when the country, that is, the vulgar, the mean, and the indigent, part of the Irish nation, shall rebel against their present sovereign the king of Great Britain *a foreigner*, you, the rich and great, must not presume to resist, your oaths of allegiance are no longer binding, you are no longer to support the constitution, and the head of that constitution, his Majesty; you must instantly join the mob, they are the *nation*, they are the country, I have often repeated that they are the physical strength of the nation, they are the people, and therefore the *creators* of the king: you owe a higher allegiance to them, than to the king, who is but their *creature*, and dethronable at their pleasure; the nobility of France stuck by the throne against the people, "*they only encumbered the throne with their ruins.*" If you do not on the breaking out of an Irish rebellion, immediately take your station in

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Further remarks on Mr. Grattan's introduction of the American Revolution into his address.

the ranks of the rebels, you are *apostates*, enemies of God and man, you shall be butchered like the French nobility and gentry, or robbed of your property, and exiled like the American loyalists. The rancour of your heart may be sufficiently estimated by the term of reproach, *apostate*, bestowed by you on the American loyalist; it is a term of peculiar contumely, generally applied to those who desert the christian religion, and of the same import with renegado; you affix to it the meaning of deserter of the cause of his country, and you add *hapless* to it, further to degrade the loyalist by representing him as in a forlorn condition, the consequence of his apostacy, and to insult him with your pity; how has the American loyalist deserved such treatment, from any one—even from a traitor, who had remaining in his breast the smallest spark of good nature, of generosity, or honour? These gentlemen were born and educated in provinces, subject to the British Empire; rebellion raised its standard in these provinces, on pretence of violation of civil privileges by the parent state, though the charters of these provinces (granted by the parent state to its subjects, sent out as its factors to settle in savage countries, and there to superintend the disposal of its commodities, and specifying the precise conditions on which these subjects were equipped, dispatched and supported, who had voluntarily engaged in the business, and solicited the appointments) excluded them from these privileges: the charter of Pennsylvania in particular, and that of most, if not all the others, providing that the settlers in these provinces should always be bound by, and submit to, the acts of the British parliament, or the rules established, or to be established, by the king of England, and his privy council. The real causes of the Americans taking up arms against the parent country were the intrigues of the French nation, which from their natural enmity to Britain, suggested to the Americans the practicability of separating themselves from the parent state, and offered to assist them in the undertaking; their distance from the head and great body of the British empire, and the nature and vast extent of their country, presenting to their view the most flattering hopes of success

success, which the event realized; the American loyalists, justly thinking, that the whole British empire, not any particular province of it, was the country of every natural-born subject of the empire, took up arms in support of their country, as their duty to it, to their God, and their king, demanded from them; they were unsuccessful, and lost their property in the provinces, torn by treachery and rebellion from the empire, and many of them lost their lives in the contest, sealing their fidelity with their blood, and glorying in the title of loyalist, expressive of their unshaken integrity, *fidei intemerata*, which even you deny them not; and these martyrs to the love of their country, to honour and good faith, you stile *apostates*. Miserable man! fly from society—the wretch who thinks incorruptible fidelity, *apostacy*, ought not to associate with man; let him repair to the desert; foxes, wolves, tigers, and other savage animals, remarkable for ferocity and treachery, are his only proper companions!

However, sir, though you think fit to menace the rich and great in Ireland, with the fate of the American loyalist, if they shall dare to resist the projected rebellion of your *popular and energetic Irish Romanists*, and insinuate that the condition of these loyalists is very miserable, yet such insinuation is not strictly true; for first these loyalists are supported in their misfortunes, by a consciousness of their having acted as faithful, honourable, and spirited citizens: their ill success, so far from diminishing their merit, enhances it; they are not of the same opinion, with the bloody fanaticks in the unhappy reign of Charles the first, who deemed their success a proof of the justice of their cause, and that God had decided in their favour, thus impiously attributing to the Deity, an approbation of rebellion, slaughter and robbery: the American loyalist, well knows the truth of the adage, *nunquam successu crescit honestum*, he knows experimentally the truth of these fine lines in Mr. Addison's Cato:

“ 'Tis not in mortals to command success,

“ But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it.”

And secondly, their grateful country has given to these loyalists a compensation for their losses: the British parliament has,

has, with equal generosity and justice, voted very large sums of money for their relief.

It remains now to be examined, Whether the example of the American revolution can inspire your *popular and energetic Irish Romanists*, with any reasonable hopes of a similar revolution in their favour, by their rebellion, and the assistance of the French assassins? and first, the different situations of the thirteen provinces of America, and Ireland are to be considered.

Remarks
on the dif-
ferent situa-
tions and
circum-
stances of
America
and Ire-
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These provinces, which were colonies of the British Empire, and now form a separate republick, which I shall stile British America, extend upwards of three thousand miles along the shores of the Atlantick Ocean; their inland extent is unknown, and their distance from Britain is one thousand leagues in the nearest part; they are every where indented with huge bays, and inlets of the sea, some of which may be not improperly stiled mediterranean seas; they are intersected by great rivers, and for the most part, at any considerable distance from the shores, uninhabited, and covered with immense forests. Ireland is an island on all sides accessible to the British fleets, separated from Great Britain by a channel from about thirty to six leagues broad, and eighty leagues long, and Great Britain lies between it and the continent of Europe; it is an open country, without forests and without fortifications. The obvious cause of the ill success of the British arms in America, was the nature of the country, and its distance from Britain, and neither the courage or power of the Americans, or their treacherous allies the French; the expence of transporting great armies, the subsisting, and supplying them with all kinds of military stores when transported, at such a distance was enormous; and both subsistence and supply hazardous and precarious: the marches of the army in a country, intersected by great rivers, were attended with great difficulty and danger, particularly as it was covered with forests, where small bodies of light troops could harass and retard the advances of numerous and formidable forces; the partial population of the country in patches called plantations, near the sea and great rivers,

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and its immense extent, rendered a permanent conquest of it impracticable; a planted district here and there, as it required a military force to conquer it, so it required a military force to preserve the conquest; and as many military posts were required, as there were planted districts. In Ireland every one of these natural defences are wanting, and the triumphant British navy rides mistress of the ocean, always ready to intercept foreign succours to Irish rebels, and even without that bar to the interference of foreigners, on any dispute between Great Britain and Ireland, the British arms must have a decisive advantage by the proximity of the two islands. Troops and warlike stores could at all times be sent with certainty in a few hours from Britain to Ireland, in small and even undecked vessels; and not from any part of the continent of Europe, but at the intervals of weeks, perhaps of months, according to the variation of the winds, and seasons, in stout vessels, and always with the provision for, and at the hazard of, a long sea voyage: the superficial contents of the island of Great Britain are to those of Ireland, in the proportion of seven to two, or three and a half to one; the aggregate population of Great Britain, (supposing its local population in all parts only equal to that of Ireland) must therefore be to that of Ireland in the same proportion; but it is certainly much greater, so that it may with reason be concluded, that its inhabitants are four-fold more numerous than those of Ireland; they are infinitely richer, and their trade and maritime power, considered, which in estimating the relative strength of islands is of prime consideration, Great Britain must be more powerful than Ireland in a tenfold proportion at least, and probably in a greater; to all this must be added, the different dispositions, views, and interests, of the people of Ireland; the Romanists of Ireland may be computed at nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants. Your colleague, Tone, in his information to the French Convention, admits that they are the poorest class in the community. I have already mentioned their relative poverty; of this class of inhabitants, I am well convinced two-thirds are easy and happy under the present constitution, and would not join the standard of rebellion, for the purpose of separating

rating this island from the British Empire, and setting up an independent democratic republic; if in the crisis of such an attempt they did not stand by government, they would at least be neuter; the nobility, and old gentry of that communion, possessed of ancient estates, very few indeed in number, would stick by the crown, because it is notoriously their interest so to do, and because they now enjoy all the benefits and privileges of the constitution, equally with Protestants, except the few herein before mentioned, from which they in fact exclude themselves, and for the attainment of which, on their own terms, they would never risk a civil war with their Protestant countrymen and Great Britain. The Irish Protestants of the established church, would to a man resist such a rebellion, and your colleague, Tone, admits, "that they have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property, that they are aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies of the French revolution;" that is, that they are the most powerful and the richest members of the state, and to a man loyal subjects. The Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, your colleague, Tone, thinks would all join the republican standard; you seem to think so too, but I must take the liberty of differing from you both. Such Protestant Dissenters, as are real christians, a very few excepted, would resist a rebellion of Irish Romanists, who would certainly compose the great bulk of the insurgents; they would consider, that in an Irish independent democratic republic, the Romanists, from their great excess over them in number, must be their absolute rulers, and they would spurn the idea of submitting their lives and properties to the mercy of an Irish Romish democracy, and exchanging constitutional civil liberty, for the tyranny of a mob government, the only calm to be expected after a tempest of successful rebellion and devastation. Such Dissenters indeed, as usurp the name of Protestants, but who are in reality Atheists, and Deists, the disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, philosophers of the new French school, in which every professor is eminent exactly in proportion to his ignorance and brutality, thank Heaven, they are not numerous

merous in Ireland ! such Dissenters, I say, would as far as in their power strengthen the ranks of rebellion ; to such an infernal crew, *your popular and energetic Romanists*, that is, a few traders in some commercial towns in Ireland, and the Romish mob of such towns, would certainly attach themselves. To such a detestable yet feeble confederacy, exclusive of the British fleets and armies, would be opposed the flower of the Irish nation, whether we consider rank, station, wealth, ability, or even number, the event of such a contest would neither be protracted nor uncertain.*

With a malignant kind of dexterity, you throw a veil over the events of rebellions in Ireland, undertaken for the avowed purpose of severing this country from Great Britain, and establishing an independent government in it ; whether monarchical or republican, signified not, it was to be independent of the British monarchy : and to encourage revolt, you hold up the recent American revolution, painted in glowing colours, to the Irish nation, as an example worthy of imitation. It shall be part of my business to recall the attention of my countrymen, to the events of the rebellions heretofore commenced by the Irish Romanists, in the cause of separation, when the relative power of the Irish Romanist to that of the Irish Protestant, bore an infinitely greater proportion than it does at present ; for the cause of separation from, and independency on Britain is not now a new cause of rebellion, it has been repeatedly fought and decided on the Irish stage. Passing over the almost continued hostility between powerful sects, and the British colonies in Ireland, from the first conquest of Ireland, by Britain, in the reign of Henry the second, I shall come at once to the reign of queen Elizabeth. In her reign, the Earl of Desmond, a great nobleman, originally of English blood, whose dominions extended almost all over Munster, entered into a league with the then powerful Spanish monarchy, for severing Ireland from England, and rendering it independent ;

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The events of former rebellions in Ireland, for the purpose of severing Ireland from the British Empire recited.

* Since the first publication of this work, the rebellion broke out, and the Popish Rebels with unparalleled cruelty, committed a variety of massacres, in different parts of the Kingdom, on all Protestants who fell into their hands : but they were soon defeated, and the above prediction verified.

he took up arms, and pretending he did so, in support of the Romish religion, he was joined by almost the whole Irish nation, then bigotted Romanists; the very English colonies, which acknowledged the queen as their sovereign, being then mostly Romanists, and confined to a few counties in Leinster, the Spaniards sent him great supplies of military stores, and troops; yet the power of England soon crushed him and his adherents, and his head was stuck up, as the head of a traitor, on London bridge. The great Earl of Tyrone, the ablest Irish chieftain, both as to courage and skill, which had before that time appeared, and who had been trained to arms, in the army of Elizabeth herself, next raised a rebellion in Ireland, in the very same cause of independence on, and separation from, England; he was also assisted by Spain, at that time the most powerful nation in Europe, who sent at one time six thousand Spanish infantry, famous for their superior discipline over all other Europeans, and then a very considerable army, to his assistance; he was joined by the whole body of the Irish nation, then forty to one in number over the English colonies, yet he and the Irish nation were in a few campaigns compleatly subdued and conquered by the power of England; and the consequences of this rebellion and suppression were, the slaughter or dispersion into foreign countries, of all the Irish chieftains who served under him, and of the greater part of the inhabitants of six whole counties in the northern part of this kingdom; the calamities brought upon the Irish Romanists by that unsuccessful rebellion, as may be learned from Morrison, and other cotemporary writers, can only be equalled by those of the Jews, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; England in those two last mentioned rebellions, was unaided by Scotland, then a distinct kingdom. The next rebellion in the cause of separation from England, and independence, was that which commenced with the horrible Irish massacre in the year 1641, that massacre which you so zealously and so officiously justify! the Irish Romanists at that time, encouraged by the distracted state of public affairs in England, and abetted by the republicans in that country (as you are at present by your masters, the English jacobins)

jacobins) broke out into rebellion for the purpose of separation and independence; the Irish Romanists, at the breaking out of this rebellion, were in the proportion of eleven to two, to the Irish Protestants, or of five and a half to one, according to Sir William Petty, (*see his political anatomy of Ireland*) the same author states, that they murdered thirty seven thousand Irish Protestants, in the first year of the rebellion in cold blood; the English army in Ireland did not amount at that time to four thousand men, ill paid and ill clothed, the Irish Romanists suddenly possessed themselves of nine-tenth parts of the kingdom; as soon however, as their quondam abettors, the English republicans, had done their business in England, they would not suffer Ireland to remain an independent state, they immediately sent an army to reduce their Irish associates in rebellion and murder, and in two short campaigns effected a complete conquest of Ireland, and slew in the field, hanged and quartered, or drove into exile, all the *energetic Irish Romanists* of that day. Of the leaders executed I shall mention two only of eminent turpitude; Lord Maguire hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and his head fixed on London bridge; and Sir Phelim O'Neil, hanged and quartered at Stephen's-green, and his head fixed on Newgate in Dublin; they confiscated all their estates, bestowing them upon the English soldiers; and finally Cromwell, first their general and then their dictator, wisely united Ireland to England, causing thirty members to sit as representatives of Ireland in the British parliament. The desolation and havock brought by this rebellion in the cause of separation and independence on the kingdom would be almost incredible, were it not testified by unquestionable authorities

The last rebellion of the Irish Romanists against the crown of England, was that which commenced in the reign of King William and Queen Mary. At this period the Irish Romanists, by the agency of Lord Tyrconnel, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom by King James the Second, were in possession of almost all employments of trust and confidence in the nation; many of the Irish nobility and gentry of that
day,

day, were Romanists, and many of the Irish, as well as English Protestants, were disaffected to the revolution and the government of King William. The Irish Romanists almost to a man, espoused the cause of the abdicated monarch, not out of any affection to him, but with the hopes by his means of obtaining independence; one hundred thousand effective men, all Irish Romanists, flew to arms; the dethroned king, their engine of separation, unable to support and arm such a number, regimented sixty thousand of them, disposing them into fifty regiments of foot, and sixteen of horse; the French monarch Lewis the fourteenth, then in the zenith of his power, sent experienced generals and officers to command and train the Irish army, and many thousand veteran French troops to assist them, with all kind of military stores, cloathing and arms; his fleet rode triumphant on the sea, having defeated the British fleet under Lord Torrington, off the southern coast of Ireland; a small body of Irish Protestants only, in the northern part of this kingdom, took up arms to stem this torrent, but they would have been soon swallowed up, had they not received speedy succours from England, and an English army, assisted by the Irish Protestants, made a complete conquest of the Irish Romanists of that day, and of their French auxiliaries, in three campaigns, drove such of them as escaped the sword, pestilence and famine, miserable exiles into foreign countries, and confiscated their estates and property.

That the Irish Romanists adhered to King James with no other view, than by his means to separate Ireland from the British empire, may be proved by numberless occurrences during that short war. I shall mention only two of them: when he assembled the Romish convention, which he and his adherents called a parliament in Dublin, one of their first measures was the preparing a bill, declaring the independence of the kingdom of Ireland on the crown of England: James when the bill was tendered to him for the royal assent hesitated; he had still hopes of remounting the throne of England, and he feared that his assenting to such a bill would disgust and alienate his English friends, and impair his own
 authority

authority if he should remount the throne : but the Irish Romanists told him plainly, that if he refused his assent to the bill, they had no further occasion for him, that he might go about his business, and that they would establish a government without him. This same pretended parliament also attainted by bill, several thousand Irish Protestants, including in it by the lump all men of that persuasion, of rank, consequence, or property ; and passed a bill for depriving the Protestant clergy, of almost the whole of their tithes, and for rendering the recovery of the remaining pittance impracticable.

Don't you deplore, sir, the ill success and unhappy fate of the members of this pretended parliament, all slaughtered, hanged or transported, for maintaining your glorious and patriotick principles of separation from England, and subversion of the Protestant establishment ; patriots as illustrious as yourself !

Another signal instance of the contempt, in which the Irish Romanists of that day held James and his authority, and that they meant only to make a tool of him for effecting their own purposes is, that when his deputy Lord Tyrconnel repaired to the Irish camp, after the departure of James to France, one of the principal Irish officers came to him, and commanded him instantly to quit the camp, or he would cut his tent cords, with which command the hapless deputy was obliged to comply.

One other example of unsuccessful rebellion, in the cause of separation and independence I omitted to introduce in its rank in point of time, because it was not the rebellion of the whole native Irish, and degenerate English colonists in Ireland, but of a part only of both races ; and that is the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald Lord Offaley, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Kildare, in the reign of King Henry the eighth ; that nobleman, being then chief governor of Ireland under the king, broke out into open rebellion, renounced his allegiance to King Henry, and set himself up as an independent prince ; in a short time, he and his adherents were reduced, and himself with five of his uncles taken prisoners,

they were sent to England, and hanged and quartered as traitors at Tyburn, the earl his father died of grief, a prisoner in the Tower of London, and the whole family estate was confiscated. This illustrious race of the Fitzgeralds would have been extinguished, had not Queen Mary, out of compassion to the misfortunes of that great house, afterwards restored the only shoot which remained of the ancient trunk, to his family honours and estate.

And now, sir, having rehearsed to you the miserable fate of Lord Offaley, and his uncles; of the Earls of Desmond, and Tyrone; of Lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neil; of the Romish parliament convened by King James, and of all their adherents, all Irish Romanists, and all engaged in the same cause, of which you have now set yourself up as the champion, that is the cause of separation from Great Britain and independence on the British crown, I leave you to sound the trumpet of insurrection, and to cheer in vain your murdering tattered bands of *popular and energetic Romanists*, by the example of successful rebellion in America, a distant country, and to waste your poisonous breath, and acrimonious ink, in fruitless attempts to depress the spirits of his Majesty's faithful and loyal Irish subjects, by the example of the unsuccessful American loyalists. Raise your ominous voice, and croak aloud to your *black*, to your *grey*, or to your *green* flock, in the figures so often used by you in your declamations, vulgarly called nonsense, such as, "a naked man oppressed by the state is an armed post; the government *bloods* the magistracy with the peoples liberty"—all you will be able to do, and it is mischief enough, is to encourage a few desperate assassins and robbers in different parts of the kingdom, to persist in their nocturnal murders, and plunder, till they expiate their crimes on the avenging gibbet, justly accusing with their last breath, (as did the privates of the Monaghan militia shot for a mutiny) flagitious demagogues, as the causes at once of their guilt and disgraceful punishment.

That you might leave no topick of inflammation of the Irish Romanists untouched, you repeat in this address two calumnies

calumnies against the government of the country, which you have already advanced in the House of Commons more than once, the falsity of which has been demonstrated as often as you presumed to advance them; and though you stood publicly convicted of deliberate malicious falsehood, in the two instances more than once, you with your accustomed effrontery, again repeat them in this address; and you instructed your jacobin masters in England, to retail the same falsehoods, for they appear in the copies of a speech, published in the English prints as spoken by Mr. Fox on Irish affairs in the English house of commons; they are thus set forth in your address: "They" (government) "agreed to the first Catholic bill, and then *proscribed* the person of the Catholic, " and *opposed his freedom in corporations.*" By the first Catholic bill, it is plain you mean the bill which passed in favour of Irish Romanists, in the year 1793, for that is the bill which enabled Romanists to become members of corporations, and in that particular, put them on a footing with Protestants, repealing the test and corporation acts, in their favour; in both these particulars of proscription of Romanists, and opposition to their freedom in corporations, by government since that act, you assert what is not warranted by fact; I clearly exposed the falsehood and malignity of such assertions in my place in the House of Commons in your hearing, stating the transactions on which they were founded; the substance of my speech on that occasion is in print, and it is not necessary here to repeat what I then said; you did not then attempt to refute me; if you shall hereafter attempt to vindicate your assertions on these heads, and produce your pretended instances of proscription, and opposition in corporations, I am able again to disprove them.

Your next charge against the present Irish government is corruption, you charge them with supporting their decided majority in parliament, against the measures of you and your petty faction, by corruption; that is, you in fact charge, that all the knights of the different shires in Ireland, six or seven excepted, (which are as many as I recollect, ever to have voted with you and your party, against the measures of go-

Mr. Grattan's charge of corruption against the present Irish government refuted.

vernment on any question) all the members for cities and great towns, for all open boroughs, and for what are stiled close (that is boroughs chiefly under the patronage of great and powerful noblemen or gentlemen, having large estates in the country) about ten or twelve members for boroughs excepted, the whole strength of your faction in the House of Commons, are induced by bribery to vote against your measures; the accusation is so notoriously unfounded, that no defence is necessary; the whole representatives of the landed and moneyed interest are not, nor could they be, bribed to vote and act against the true interests of their country, that is, their own interests; the absurdity of the accusation is a sufficient refutation; but to support your accusation you adduce two instances, one, that to overwhelm an oligarchical party in parliament, “ a new host of places and pensions, was “ resorted to, this is the famous half million, or the experi- “ ment of the castle to secure the dependence of parliament, “ and prevent the formation of an Irish party against the “ dominion of the British Cabinet.” This allegation of corruption in the government, you have founded, on an assertion, declared in several of your speeches, to have been once made in the House of Commons, by a person then employed in the service of government; the assertion, as you frequently stated it, was, “ that it had cost government half a million “ to defeat an opposition party, in the House of Commons;” and you have frequently admitted that the transaction alluded to happened during the time Lord Townshend was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; his lieutenancy commenced in 1767 and ended in 1772, so that, according to you it must have happened, more than twenty-seven years ago; and that it ever happened, or that such assertion was ever made, rests upon *your credit*.

The misconduct of former governors, by a kind of political legerdemain, you transfer to the present; but for a moment supposing that a corruption of parliament was designed by multiplying the lucrative offices of the state, and conferring them on members of parliament, has not the place-bill lately enacted, a measure adopted by a ministry of a much later

later date, than that of Lord Townshend, compleatly defeated the design? That bill, amongst other regulations, disqualifies persons, possessing a great number of lucrative offices, to sit in parliament, many of which were heretofore filled by members of parliament; and it vacates the seats of all members of the House of Commons, who shall, after their election, accept of places of profit under the crown tenable at pleasure; add to this powerful check to corruption, the pension bill; both these bills are of modern date; yet whilst you, for the purpose of inflammation, load the present government with the imputed guilt of the misconduct of former governors, you conceal from view the merit of the present or of immediately preceding governors, in correcting such misconduct, if such there was, and in preventing future governors from adopting such corruptive measures; with the same view, you accuse the present government with creating new places for gentlemen of the law profession, but you omit stating the absolute necessity of the creation, arising from defect and delay in the dispensing of public justice, both criminal and civil, which occurred in almost all the counties in the kingdom, before they were created; and you also omitted, that barristers holding such new created employments, were incapacitated by the act which established them to sit in parliament; you accuse government with a design to corrupt the bar by the creation of these places, with what justice I leave the world to determine; but in preferring this accusation, you fall into a strange inconsistency; contrary to the whole tenor of your address, you stumble here on one truth, to wit, "That in this country formerly the rule of government was, the law of the land," you state throughout your address that the whole proceedings of government in this country, from the commencement of the reign of James the first to the present day, have been a continued system of the most atrocious and horrible tyranny, over the inhabitants of this kingdom, over *Irishmen* in large characters, that strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and *faithful* race of men, as you describe them. The law of England was not extended over all Ireland, till the reign of James the first,

first, before that time the inhabitants of four-fifths of this kingdom, were out of the pale of the English laws, and were governed by certain barbarous customs, called the *Brehon law*, of which Sir John Davis gives some account; at what time was it then, “*that the rule of government in this country was the law of the land,*” according to you? The fact is certainly true, the law of the land has been always the rule of government in this country, since it became entirely pervious to the common law of England; but how came you, against your very nature and design, to deviate into this truth? it renders your address a heap of inconsistency—from compassion to you, I will endeavour to reconcile you with yourself; the law you there meant, as the rule of government, was the *Brehon law* before the reign of King James the first: and the government, the then Irish chiefs or Sachems, and their Brehons or judges; what a pity that you did not live in those times! you would, if then in existence, have been a *Brehon*, and could I entertain the belief of transmigration, I should certainly conclude, that your soul formerly animated the body of a sturdy dogmatick Brehon, a supercilious and despotick barbarian, whose nod was plunder, and whose frown was death!

It is not here amiss to examine whether the conduct of government, in nominating to the offices of the state, members of the House of Lords and Commons, can be considered as an effect of a system of corruption of parliament, adopted by the crown; it is notorious that in every civilized state, whether monarchical or republican, there must be a set of men, selected from the body of the people, whose peculiar province it is, to transact the business of the state; it is highly reasonable, and indeed necessary, that such men should be paid by the community for their trouble, for we find by experience, that the duty of laborious offices which officious men have sometimes undertaken to perform without emolument, has been always in the end neglected or abandoned, nor is it to be expected that men will gratuitously expend and waste their time and their labour. In a great empire, as is that of Britain, there must be many and skilful public officers,

cers, which from the constitution of our mixed monarchy, must be nominated by the crown; this power of nomination gives a considerable degree of influence to the crown, but it is a proper and constitutional influence, with which the very nature of our government demands that the crown should be invested, and without which our constitution could not exist; to what body of men then is the monarch to look for a supply of public officers? is he to exclude from all public functions the whole House of Lords, the whole body of the nobility of the nation, the hereditary council of the crown? and is he also to exclude all the members of the House of Commons, the ablest and most enlightened part of the people, partly possessing and certainly representing, the whole mass of the landed and monied interest in the nation; of whose talents, abilities, and capacity for public service from their situation, he has the best opportunity of judging? and is the monarch to resort to the jovial clubs of country squires, to a fox-hunt or horse-race, to the cloisters of a college, to the counting-houses of traders, to the factories of weavers, the forges of smiths, to the plough, the loom, or the hammer, for prime ministers, and secretaries of state? and is the monarch in a mixed monarchy like ours, to be stripped of all influence of every kind in the senate? The man who can answer these several questions in the affirmative, and frame his answers from his own real opinion, is a person too absurd to be argued with, he must be entirely ignorant, not only of all the œconomy of political society, but of the very nature of man, considered as a reasonable and a social being.

You declaim, sir, in your address, with a considerable degree of asperity, against what you call the trade of parliament, by which I understand, the buying a seat in the House of Commons, for a venal borough, or procuring a seat in that House by other means, with a view of making great advantage of the purchase, by compelling the minister to buy the talents of the purchaser, and thereby not only to silence his clamorous opposition to all measures of government, right or wrong, but to employ his mercenary eloquence in a slavish support of administration on all occasions. Of these venal boroughs
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the number is small, and I freely admit, that such trade has been driven, and sometimes with success; but your assurance in selecting such a topic for inflammation, is surely unmatchable! it is a universally received opinion, that some of the most turbulent and clamorous *antesignani* in your scanty ranks of opposition, set up in that trade of parliament, in which, thank Providence! they have failed and become bankrupts; their unhappy fate has drawn from you the most pathetic complaints in your address. Pray which are they, or the hapless American loyalists, the greatest objects of compassion in your eyes? thus you pour forth your tragick effusion, from the very bottom of your soul: "What man of small fortune, what man of great fortune, can now afford to come into the House of Commons, or sustain the expence of a seat in parliament, or of a contested election? I know some who have great talents, (*that is, strong lungs and consummate assurance*) and have exercised them in the public service, are disposed to decline situations, to the honest individual so expensive, and to the public now so unprofitable." (you might have added "*and to themselves.*") But your disappointed satellites, are not the only persons who followed the trade of parliament; no man followed it in my memory with so much assiduity or success as you yourself have done, since your commencement in that business; returned into parliament for a close borough at your first appearance on the public stage, by the interest of a nobleman, in whose patronage it was, you immediately opened your shop, and exposed your wares to sale, the stock of a second-hand retail political haberdasher, the whole consisted of an assortment collected from the two store-houses of deceased politicians, the one Molyneux's State of Ireland, the other the Drapier's Letters; the Irish Nation at that time laboured under two grievances, the first a real one felt severely by the public at large; the second, more a theoretical than an actual grievance, though sometimes really felt, and always menacing. The first consisted in a severe and impolitic restriction of the trade of Ireland, by the commercial regulations of Britain; the second was an assumed power in the British legislature

Mr. Grattan's assiduity and success in carrying on the trade of Parliament.

to bind Ireland by its statutes ; and to this grievance may be added, the effects of an Irish statute called Poyning's act, by which the Irish parliament in its legislative capacity, was controlled by the great law officers in England : the nation, galled by *these oppressions*, equally pernicious and disgraceful, loudly expressed on all occasions their dissatisfaction at them ; and zealously applauded and supported as well every honest patriot, as political adventurer, who argued or declaimed against them ; and as usual in such cases, the multitude always expressed loudest their approbation of the loudest declaimer, measuring the merit of the orator by the uproar, turbulence, and fury, of his harangues. In such a season several able and honest senators stood forth the champions of their country, and combated these oppressions with the weapons of argument and reason : you joined the ranks, and fought against the common enemy with less effective execution, but with superior noise, turbulence, and acrimony, battering them incessantly with the artillery of Molyneux and Swift. The campaign was successful, the English minister listened to the voice of justice and reason, and agreed to a treaty : the grievances were redressed ; the ports of the world were opened to the Irish trader, the independence of the Irish legislature on that of Britain was acknowledged ; and Poyning's act repealed. The giddy multitude, captivated by the fury and bluster of your operations, attributed the whole success to you : and you carried away the palm from your upright, honest, patriotic associates, with much less real merit, whether we consider your abilities or motives. You were determined however to work your own emolument out of the national prosperity, and to take advantage of this tide of Irish exultation to bring into port a Galeon freighted with a precious cargo on your own account ; though just set up in the trade of parliament, you seemed to have understood it better, than older merchants ; you contrived matters so, that a vote was carried in the House of Commons, for bestowing on you fifty thousand pounds out of the public purse, as a reward for your exertions in establishing the independence of the Irish legislature ; and you had address sufficient to obtain
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the consent of the crown to this most extraordinary and unmerited donation, by your engagement in future to support the measures of government: by a judicious disposal of this money you have secured to yourself an estate in fee simple of three thousand pounds per annum and upwards: and you, who accuse the present government of corruption in the distribution of places and pensions, are, and for some years have been, in possession of a pension in fee simple of three thousand pounds per annum, the most unmerited that ever was bestowed, and purchased by the most unwarrantable, wanton, and profuse expenditure of public money, that has ever occurred in the annals of this or the sister kingdom. To expose in a clearer point of view the inanity of your claim to this donation, it is necessary here to recur to some part of your conduct, after receipt of that costly proof of public prodigality and folly. The English nation, from the time of their conquest of Ireland, in the reign of King Henry the second, to the year 1782, had claimed and frequently exercised a power of legislating for Ireland: the claim is asserted in all their law books where Ireland is mentioned, particularly by Lord Coke in Calvin's case, and in his Institutes, and may be found particularly stated in judge Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 1. p. 100, 101. In the reign of George the first, the claim was questioned by the Irish, and the English parliament passed a declaratory law in the 6th year of that reign, in which they asserted the power of the British Parliament to bind Ireland by its acts *as part of the common law of England*. Previous to, and in, the year 1782 the Irish parliament, as is before stated, made heavy complaints of this assumed power of the British parliament, to legislate for Ireland; and a bill passed in the British parliament repealing this declaratory act, in consequence of these complaints, by way of contenting the Irish nation; the late Mr. Flood, and some other leading members in the Irish House of Commons, saw clearly, that such repeal of a declaratory act, did not abrogate the law as it stood before that act was made; and that if by the common law of England, as laid down by their most eminent lawyers, Ireland was bound

bound by British acts of parliament before the enacting of that declaratory act, the repeal of that act left the law as it stood before; and that the right of binding Ireland by British acts, might be again, not only claimed, but exercised, by the parliament of Britain, whenever they should think it convenient to do so, and Mr. Flood and others insisted in the Irish House of Commons, that the repeal of the act of the 6th of George the first, did not, and could not, establish and secure the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and that nothing short of an act of renunciation by the British parliament of all right of legislating for Ireland, could establish or secure that independence.

To this most reasonable doctrine of Mr. Flood, and the gentlemen who supported his opinion, you opposed yourself with all your wonted fury and acrimony in the Irish House of Commons, and absurdly insisted, that the simple repeal of a declaratory act abrogated the law which was antecedent to the act; your obstinacy on this occasion was exactly in proportion to your absurdity. However the British parliament concurred in opinion with Mr. Flood, and passed an act of renunciation of all power of legislation for Ireland.

Mr. Grattan violently opposed the act of renunciation, which alone could secure the independence of the Irish legislature, and his reasons for so doing.

It was matter of wonder to men who had been carried away by the torrent of popular applause, and looked upon you as a zealous assertor of the independence of the Irish legislature, to see you thus vehemently opposing the only measure which could establish and secure it; but their wonder ceased, when they found that the concurrence of the minister of the day, with the commons, in presenting to you fifty thousand pounds, without whose concurrence you could not have touched the money, had been purchased by your engagement to support his measures: and that he resisted the idea of renunciation at that time, not knowing how the parliament of Britain might feel on so momentous a measure; if that minister is now living, and has read your address, when he came to this passage, “*no—no—no—the half million,*” “*said the minister, this is my principle of attraction: among the*” “*rich I send my half million,*” how must he blush at his own folly in bestowing on you, one solitary representative of a
close

close borough, without estate, family or connexions to make you considerable, one full tenth part of that sum, which you represent as sufficient to corrupt the whole Irish senate, fifty thousand pounds! and what tortures must he feel, when he finds his accomplice has turned approver against him! Imagination paints him to me on such occasion crying out with Macheath, "That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me!" or with the Roman poet, "*Clodius accusat mæchos, Catilina Cæthegum!*"*

Mr. Grattan violently opposed a parliamentary censure, on a libel published in England, purporting to be a copy of a speech of Mr. Fox in the British House of Commons on the state of Ireland.

The next transaction of your political life which it is necessary here to mention, is your conduct in the last session, when the extraordinary attack stated in the public prints to have been made in the British House of Commons by Mr. Fox on the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, was animadverted upon in the Irish House of Commons. A false and infamous libel on the Irish parliament, particularly on the House of Commons, was published in most of the London newspapers in the month of March, in the year 1797, and from them copied into the republican Irish prints, entitled Mr. Fox's speech on the state of Ireland, and purporting to be a copy of a speech made in the English House of Commons by Mr. Fox. This libel, after stating a variety of the most malignant and groundless falsehoods, respecting Ireland, the dispositions of its inhabitants, and measures pursued by government there, proceeded to condemn in a rancorous invective, the rejection of the two measures by the Irish House of Commons, which your address mentions as panaceas proposed by you and your party for the cures of all popular discontent in Ireland, to wit, *emancipation and reform*. For the first of these measures, there appeared on a division in the Irish House of Commons twenty votes only: and as your party joined emancipation and reform together, declaring that emancipation was only the first part of reform, and that there

* The French directory, consisting of five persons, demanded as a bribe from the American ambassadors, the sum of fifty thousand pounds; they were contented with ten thousand pounds a-piece. Our Irish sham patriot is not contented with a less sum than fifty thousand pounds for himself. Mock patriotism is a more productive profession in Ireland, than in France!

there could be no reform without emancipation, the decision of the House, almost unanimous, against emancipation, put an end to divisions of the House on the string of resolutions you had prepared respecting the remainder of your scheme of reform; many of the twenty who voted for emancipation, declaring they would vote against all the remainder of the proposed reform. This libel, published as the speech of Mr. Fox, stated this almost unanimous decision of the Irish House of Commons to have been procured by the influence of the crown, and represented the members of that House as only puppets of the minister, including in this censure all the Irish representatives of counties, cities and boroughs: it asserted the propriety of the interference of the English House of Commons with the proceedings of the Irish parliament; and of their entertaining and examining the merits of appeals made by any defeated party in the Irish Commons, be it ever so insignificant, and reversing the decisions of the Irish parliament in all matters of internal legislation of that country, on two principles, one, that if a rebellion should blaze up in Ireland in consequence of measures pursued by the Irish parliament, there were no other means to extinguish it, except English forces and money, which could be only levied by the authority of the English Commons. The other, that the Irish parliament was an engine, entirely worked and directed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his secretary, who were tools of the English ministry, which ministry was accountable to, and controllable by, the English House of Commons. The last of these principles, if admitted, would at once destroy all idea of independent legislation in Ireland: but it is so notoriously false that no arguments are necessary to confute it. The first principle is also generally false, as there is force sufficient in Ireland of loyal Irish subjects, to quell any rebellion which may blaze forth from the fuel furnished by you and your party; but were it necessary, in case of an Irish rebellion, to obtain assistance in men and money from England, the furnishing such assistance would give no more right to the English House of Commons to legislate for Ireland, than the furnishing of similar assistance by Ireland

to quell a rebellion in Britain, would give to the Irish House of Commons to legislate for Britain; and the libel stated, that Mr. Fox had made a motion in the English House of Commons, for an address to his Majesty to change his ministers in Ireland, which he prefaced with this speech, and that the whole opposition party had supported this motion, which however was rejected in the British House of Commons, by a great majority.

When this libel was published, some members of the Irish House of Commons, one of whom I was, thought it proper to stamp it with some signal mark of disgrace; it contained so many acrimonious falsehoods respecting the government, parliament, and Protestants of Ireland; and urged a doctrine so destructive of the very idea of independent Irish legislation, or as you stile it in your address, self-legislation, that we thought it merited the utmost reprobation; and with that view, I produced the libel, as published in the Morning Chronicle, an English newspaper, in the Irish House of Commons: I exposed its malignity and falsehood; and moved that it should be read by the clerk at the table; which motion I intended to have followed with two others, one for a vote of the House, declaring it a false, scandalous and malicious libel on the Irish nation and parliament, and particularly on the House of Commons; and another, for a vote condemning it to be burned by the common hangman at the door of the House. But the House were of opinion, that the motion, said to have been prefaced by this libel having been rejected by the British House of Commons, they were not called upon to take any notice of it, as the doctrines contained in it, were sufficiently reprobated by such rejection; and my first motion was lost by a previous question which put an end to the business. On this occasion you defended the libel, and its doctrines, with the utmost violence of voice, expression and gesture: you roundly asserted the propriety of appeals from the parliament of Ireland to the British House of Commons, and you attempted to vindicate and support many of the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it; you were so transported with rage at what you considered an attack on
your

your jacobin masters in England, that you became almost unintelligible, and as most of the falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it are repeated in your present address, it is not difficult to trace this libel on the Irish government, nation and parliament, to its true source; it is certain, if such speech was actually spoken in the British House of Commons, that the materials must have been furnished by you, and that the falsehoods contained in it, are not imputable to the Speaker, though his extreme credulity, in taking so readily upon trust the unsupported assertions of a desperate, disappointed, dogmatic, political railer, is justly blameable.

And now, sir, see how the account of political integrity and consistency stands with you. You received fifty thousand pounds for asserting the independence of the Irish legislature on that of Britain: you immediately afterwards opposed the necessity of renunciation of the power of legislating for Ireland on the part of Britain, the only measure which could annihilate such power and establish and secure the independence of Irish legislation. In your present address you preach up the doctrine of the necessity of self-legislation, as you have often done before; yet in the very last session of parliament, you maintained with all your power, and with the utmost violence, the justice and propriety of the English House of Commons interfering in matters of internal legislation in Ireland, and dictating to the Irish parliament what measures they should pursue, and what laws they should enact, and that if the Irish parliament should decline, even unanimously, the adoption of such measures, and enactment of such laws, it was fit and proper that the English House of Commons should exercise an appellatory jurisdiction over the decisions of the parliament of Ireland, reverse them at their pleasure, and take proper steps to compel them to adopt measures directly contrary to such decisions. Such has been in the last session your support of the doctrine of self-legislation! Your conduct on these occasions puts me in mind of that of a party in the Irish commons in the year 1640, composed of Romanists and Puritans, the constituent parts

parts of the faction of which you at present assume the station of leader. Such party prevailed on the House of Commons of Ireland, so far to betray their own independence, as to send a petition by two agents, Mr. Bellew and Mr. Cahell, to the House of Commons of England, praying them to redress the then pretended grievances of Ireland, which petition was presented on the 13th of November 1640, at the bar of the English House of Commons, see Carte's Ormond, 1st vol. p. 115; the Irish House of Commons of that day, agreed to such petition; you could not persuade the Irish Commons in 1797 to be guilty of a similar piece of treachery to the nation. You and a few, a very few others only of that House in 1797, were found mean enough to contend for a controlling power in the British commons over the parliament of your country, at the very time you pretended to assert its right of self-legislation.

Having thus, sir, in general remarked on the flagitious tendency of your address, and the more prominent falsehoods and misrepresentations contained in it, and exposed the true causes of the nocturnal murders and robberies, which of late have disgraced the country, I shall now take the liberty of adverting to the two measures which you state to be the only methods by which these disorders can be suppressed; which measures, with equal fraud and falsehood, you are pleased to dignify with the titles of *emancipation* and *reform*; and I shall make a few observations on the arguments by which you have attempted to support the necessity of them. I hope to make it clear to every reader, that by the first you really mean the subversion of the Protestant establishment in church and state; and by the second, a republican government separated from, and independent of Great Britain; which I shall demonstrate, would, if attempted, be attended by the desolation of the kingdom; and that success in such a measure, would only perpetuate desolation and misery.

Mr. Grattan's arguments in favour of emancipation; remarks on

I shall begin this part of my answer, with observations on your arguments, or rather rhapsody, in support of what you term Catholic emancipation. You commence your arguments (if such they can be called) with stating "that the
 " sentiments

“ sentiments and the principles of the Irish Romanists, have and refuta-
 “ suffered a mighty change, that the Irish Romanist of the tion of
 “ present day, does not hold the same sentiments and opi- them.
 “ nions held by the Romanists in the year 1692, and that
 “ the revolution in America had worked a prodigious alte-
 “ ration in the political opinions of the Romanists of Ireland.”
 Now, sir, admitting all this to be fact, I cannot conceive
 how you can apply it as an argument in favour of abolishing
 the tests, by the refusal of which, the Irish Romanists pre-
 clude themselves from sitting in parliament, and from filling
 the great offices of state; as to all other privileges they are
 already fully on a level with their Protestant fellow subjects:
 all it amounts to is this; the American revolution has made
 all the Irish Romanists of the present day republicans; in
 1692 they were royalists; therefore in the present political
 situation of Europe, it is politic in the governors of the
 British Empire to transfer the powers of the state in Ireland,
 a kingdom dependant upon the imperial crown of Great
 Britain, from the Irish Protestants, attached loyalists, faith-
 ful subjects, to Irish Romanists, all republicans, and ready to
 follow the example of revolted America. You indeed mark
 the alteration in the sentiments and principles of Romanists,
 which you assert to have happened, thus: “ With the Irish
 “ Catholics of the year 1792, the influence of pope,
 “ priest and pretender, is at an end,” insinuating that the
 imposition of exclusive tests on Irish Romanists, arose from
 such influence, which rendered them inimical to the present
 establishment in church and state; the first part of your as-
 sertion is easily proved not to be fact, to wit, that the influ-
 ence of the pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, is at an
 end; the second I admit to be true; but the influence of a
 principle full as hostile to the constitution has succeeded, to
 wit, the influence of pure democratic republicanism. That
 the Irish Romanists, whom you call the *popular and energetic*
 part of them, (with which Irish Romanists alone you are
 connected, and whose sentiments and opinions you con-
 stantly obtrude on the public, as those of the whole body of
 Irish Romanists) are staunch republicans, and separatists from

Great Britain, has been frequently acknowledged and avowed by them, in a great variety of publications; amongst others by the laboured account of their proceedings, speeches and resolutions, when assembled at the Romish chapel in Francis-street, on the 9th of April, 1795, as I have before mentioned. Separation from Britain is a disavowal of all allegiance to his majesty, and as there is now no pretender, the Stewart line being extinct, and as the assistance of the French republic is absolutely necessary for effecting a separation, the establishment of a republican form of government in Ireland, must be the natural consequence of such separation. Ever since the decline of the Spanish monarchy, the Irish Romanists have looked to the French, as the only nation which could enable them to separate themselves from Britain, and to establish an independent government: they attached themselves to the house of Stewart, as I have already observed, merely because the French monarch favoured that house; and they hoped by the interest of the Stewart race, with the monarch of France, to procure from France aids sufficient to effect their only purpose, separation; they were then obliged from interested motives only, to affect an attachment to monarchy; but the Stewart race being extinct, and the government of France changed to a republic, the Irish Romanists immediately adopted republican principles, (I mean here only those you stile the *popular and energetic* part of them) as most agreeable to the ruling powers in France, who on that account would be more ready to assist them; and separation from Britain being their only object, they were ready to embrace republicanism, the moment it appeared to them to conduce to the attainment of that object. The absurd argument which I have often heard advanced in favour of the claims of Irish Romanists to political power in our state, *that the Romish religion attaches those of its communion to a monarchical government*, has been sufficiently refuted of late by their own writers; they perhaps were afraid that such arguments would do them mischief with the present ruling powers in France, and delay or impede succours from that country, for effecting a separation, they therefore

therefore took some pains to prove that the Romish religion suited a republic full as well as a monarchy. Some Romish priests, very eminent in their stations amongst persons of that communion, have taken care to distinguish themselves on this topic. Their titular bishops, under the pretence of publishing pastoral letters, have published pamphlets highly inflammatory and seditious, particularly a man of the name of *Huffey*, who has informed us in his pamphlet published in January, 1797, that he had been recently appointed bishop of Waterford by the pope. This man, a native of Ireland, but educated in some Spanish seminary or convent, was brought back to this kingdom by Earl Fitzwilliam, for the avowed purpose of placing him at the head of a seminary, to be established here, for the education of Romish priests: this design has been since the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam carried into effect: and grants have been obtained from parliament for that purpose amounting to nearly thirty-six thousand pounds, more than half as much of the public money as was formerly squandered upon you; and Mr. Huffey has been made the president of this seminary. Notwithstanding this man's obligations to government, he published a pamphlet at the time before mentioned, entitled, "A Pastoral Letter to the Catholic Clergy of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, by the Right Reverend Doctor Huffey." As the great mass of Irish property real and personal, is in the hands of Protestants, this writer in the first place inserts this injunction, to his subordinate priests: "Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, (i. e. the Protestants) who will try by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you, over the poor (i. e. the Romanists) for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends—they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times. They shared their scanty meal with you and with your predecessors; and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom; if they had acted otherwise, conformed

Romish titular bishops in Ireland have published seditious libels, under the title of pastoral letters: particularly one Huffey, a Romish priest, imported into Ireland by Earl Fitzwilliam.

“ to the *errors* of the nation (i. e. the Protestant religion)
 “ and imitated the conduct of the *rich*, who not only shut
 “ their doors against you, but not *unfrequently hunted you*
 “ *like wild beasts*, I should not be able to address the present
 “ respectable body of clergy, under my spiritual authority.”
 He then proceeds to reprobate all Protestant places of edu-
 cation, and particularly the charter-schools established by
 royal authority, where the children of such Romanists as
 please to send them, are educated and maintained gratis, in
 the following words: “ Remonstrate with any parent, who
 “ will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places
 “ of education, where his religious faith or morals are
 “ likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your re-
 “ monstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ’s body:
 “ if he should still continue obstinate, denounce him to
 “ the church, (i. e. excommunicate him) in order that ac-
 “ cording to Christ’s commandment, he be considered as
 “ a heathen and publican.” After thus, as far as lay in his
 power, cutting off all friendly intercourse between Irishmen
 of different religious persuasions, and drawing as strong a
 line of separation between them as he possibly could, Mr.
 Hufsey proceeds thus: “ If in any of your districts, the
 “ Catholic military frequent Protestant places of worship, it
 “ is your duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them
 “ how contrary to the principles of the Catholic faith it is,
 “ exteriorly to profess one *faith* and interiorly to believe ano-
 “ ther: an Irish foldier, ought not to be ashamed of openly
 “ professing the Catholic religion—*the religion of Irishmen*,”
 (in Italics) “ instruct them, that in all matters regarding
 “ the service of the king, their officers are competent to
 “ command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in
 “ matters regarding the service of the King of kings, *their*
 “ *officers have no authority over them*. The many compulsory
 “ means lately employed, (and several instances of them
 “ within this very diocese, not many days since) to drive the
 “ Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, alarmed
 “ the *true*” (in Italics) “ friends” to the king and his service,
 “ and every well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the coun-
 “ try.

“ try. Such unwarrantable steps could not make profelytes
 “ of the Catholic military—it might, in time, make them
 “ indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jaco-
 “ binize them on the French scale, and perhaps in the hour
 “ of danger, induce them to forget their duty, and their
 “ loyalty, *in order to be revenged of their persecutors.*” The
 dangerous and malignant tendency of this last passage can-
 not be fully explained, without adverting to a few facts. It
 is a practice with the military in Ireland, when quartered in
 towns in which there are churches, to call forth the soldiers,
 on the sabbath day on the parade, and to march them to the
 church; when at the church door, such of them as are Pro-
 testants enter and attend divine service; the rest are dismis-
 sed, generally with an admonition to repair to their respec-
 tive places of worship: and no Romish soldier is ever or-
 dered or compelled to enter a Protestant church, and attend
 during the celebration of divine service. A man of the
 name of Hyland, a private soldier in a regiment of dragoons,
 refused to attend the parade of his regiment on a Sunday
 morning, alledging that he was a Roman Catholic, and that
 he would not march with the regiment to the church door; he
 was told, that his marching with his regiment to the church
 door from the parade, was a military duty, with which he was
 bound to comply, and that he had full liberty to depart from
 the church door, and go to a Romish chapel, or where else he
 pleased; this did not content him, he persisted in his refusal
 to obey his officer, he was tried by a court-martial, condemn-
 ed to be whipped, and being a worthless ill disposed fellow,
 he was afterwards turned out of the regiment. *Your popular and energetic Romanists*, about this
 time, were very active in obstructing the recruiting of his
 majesty’s army destined to act against their friends the French,
 and with that view, they framed a lying story from this trans-
 action respecting Hyland, and published in all their scanda-
 lous prints, that Hyland, a Romish soldier, had been cruelly
 whipped, for refusing to attend the celebration of divine
 service in a Protestant church. The calumny was recited in
 the speech of M^rNevin, on the 9th of April, 1795, at
 Francis-

Francis-street chapel; however this story might have operated on the bulk of the lower order of Romanists, and prevented their enlisting in his majesty's service, it ought not to have had any operation on Mr. Hufsey, for he knew, from his own experience, that Romish soldiers were not compelled to attend the celebration of divine service in Protestant churches, and were not prevented from attending it in chapels frequented by those of their own communion. He asserted that he had a commission from the pope to act as chief almoner or chaplain to all the Romish military in Ireland: and the government of the country indulged him in the liberty of visiting at his pleasure, the camp at Lehaunstown, near Dublin, in which several regiments were quartered, mostly militia, many of the private soldiers of which were Romanists. Here he was permitted freely to exercise his functions as a Romish priest, frequently celebrating mass, and preaching, without any interruption in the camp, although there were three Romish chapels in the neighbourhood, to which the Romish soldiery had free access on every necessary occasion; yet this man, to give some colour to his publication of this incendiary pamphlet under the title of a pastoral letter, states that there were several instances within the diocese of Waterford, not many days before his publication, of compulsory means being used to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship; though being urged to mention these instances, he could not produce one. The county Fermanagh regiment of militia, when this pretended pastoral letter was published in Waterford, was quartered in that city. The commanding officer was informed, that Mr. Hufsey had said, that these instances of compulsion had happened in that regiment; the Romish soldiers in the regiment were very few; and he ordered immediate enquiry to be made, whether any such compulsion had been practised on any soldiers in the regiment, and being answered in the negative, he and his officers wrote a very civil card to Mr. Hufsey, then in Waterford, requesting that he would let them know, whether, in his letter, he alluded to any occurrence, which he might have heard had happened in the

Fermanagh

Fermanagh regiment; assuring him at the same time, that no compulsory means had been employed, to drive any Romish soldier in that regiment, to a Protestant place of worship. To this card Mr. Hufsey never condescended to write an answer: and the officers of the regiment, after waiting some time for an answer, published their card in the daily newspapers. The truth is, Mr. Hufsey declined all answer, perfectly conscious that he had published a falsehood respecting the military, and being unwilling to acknowledge it, and apologize for it, even on the score of misinformation, because such acknowledgment would defeat the end for which he had invented it, to wit, to awake and encourage discontent amongst the soldiery, and disinclination to the service. If Mr. Hufsey in stating that compulsory methods had been employed to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship meant, that the Romish soldiers were obliged to attend on the parades on Sunday mornings, and from thence march to the doors of Protestant churches with their Protestant fellow soldiers, the performance of such military duty no way interfered with their religious persuasion, as they were not obliged to enter the church, and attend the celebration of divine service within it, but were always dismissed at the door; and Mr. Hufsey could in such proceeding find no cause of complaint. It is plain then, when he complains of force being employed to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, he meant that the Romish soldiers were forced to attend to the celebration of divine service in Protestant churches, which as I before observed is a direct falsehood.

Mr. Hufsey then proceeds to clear the Irish Romanists from the imputation of being royalists, which he considers a groundless calumny on that body of people; he even aims at eloquence on this topick, and thus declaims: “As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people; so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government—monarchies or republics—aristocracies or democracies; despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith. It may well suit a small
“ sect

“ sect (meaning the Protestant religion) to regulate its creed
 “ and form of worship, according to the shape or form of
 “ government, of the limited boundaries where that sect
 “ arose, exists, and dies away. Not so the religion, which
 “ the prophet foretold should extend from the rising, to the
 “ setting sun, it is therefore called the Catholic or uni-
 “ versal religion.” But Mr. Hufsey does not close his pas-
 toral instructions here, he endeavours, with all his powers, to
 inflame the Irish Romanists against their Protestant country-
 men by a picture of the condition of Irish Romanists whilst
 the Popery laws were in force, blazoned and embellished
 with the boldest strokes and most glaring colours of false-
 hood and malice, and subscribed by a menace, of so in-
 solent and daring a nature, that I cannot help exclaiming
 with the Roman poet,

Quid domini facient, audent cum talia fures!

*When pastor Hufsey and his flock of United Irishmen, with such
 menaces already in their mouths, shall become our masters, what
 are we to expect!* Thus proceeds this *Romish priest rampant* :
 “ If the conduct of the Catholic laity has always been loyal
 “ and peaceable, even in the worst of times,—if even when
 “ religious penalties made them total strangers in their
 “ native land—if when the ruling party” (that is, the Pro-
 testants) “ with insolence in their looks, and oppression in
 “ their hands, ground them down—when some of the most
 “ powerful men in the nation declared in the senate, that
 “ they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare
 “ to speak to a Protestant with his hat on—when even the
 “ course of justice was perverted, and the channel of it dried
 “ up, according to the prejudices and party views of the
 “ judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the
 “ impartial administration of it, by taxes levied on the op-
 “ pressed sufferers.” And then after stating that some of
 these Popery laws had been lately repealed, he continues,
 “ That however a *junto*” (in large letters) “ for their own
 “ interested or their sinister views, may raise *mobs* to try to
 “ throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all
 “ their

“ their efforts must be useless—the vast rock is already detached
 “ from the mountain’s brow, and whoever shall oppose its descent
 “ and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours.”
 And he does not conclude this malignant inflammatory libel, without overstepping all bounds of truth, in the most notorious manner, to encourage the Irish Romanists, already goaded by recitals of invented, aggravated, and magnified oppressions, to revolt, by multiplying their relative number to that of Protestants, and stating, “ That nine tenths of
 “ the nation at large, and ninety nine hundredths of the
 “ dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, are still faithful and
 “ steady Catholics, notwithstanding what they and their an-
 “ cestors suffered for their fidelity, and for which they are
 “ as unrivalled in the history of the church, as insulated an
 “ exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the
 “ geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the
 “ world.”

The reflexions thrown out in this performance against the Protestant ancestors of the present race of Irish Protestants, for enacting that code of laws stiled Popery laws—against the laws themselves—and against the judges who administered them, require some observations; as well as the assertion that the conduct of the Romish laity of Ireland has been always loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; I have already observed that the superficial contents of Britain bear to those of Ireland the proportion of three and a half to one. Britain altogether is certainly better peopled in proportion than Ireland, but supposing it equally peopled, its population must be to that of Ireland in the proportion of seven to two. The Romanists in Britain do not amount to a two hundredth part of its inhabitants: in estimating the relative numbers of inhabitants they are of no account: of the inhabitants of Ireland not more than two thirds are Romanists, as has been often fully proved, the rest are Protestants. So that in the population of the British Empire in Europe, the Protestants are to the Romanists, in the proportion of about twenty three to four, or nearly six to one, which is the fair way of counting the relative number of different religious persuasions

suasions in a great Empire, from which to draw conclusions of the propriety of political predominancy of one over the other : and not from partial calculations of the numbers in particular districts of that empire, the sophistical method of argument adopted by you, sir, and your associates, when you urge the propriety of Romish predominancy in Ireland, and of abolishing the Protestant establishment.

The Irish Romanists in four desperate and general rebellions, against their sovereign, each attended by the desolation of the kingdom, attempted to establish the Romish religion in Ireland, and a government separated from, and independent on Britain; to wit, Desmond's, Tyrone's, Sir Phelim O Neil's, and that which ended in the year 1691. In all these they were subdued by the united efforts of the Protestant subjects of the Empire, English, Scotch and Irish. Such has been the loyalty of the Irish Romanists, asserted by Mr. Hufsey to have always continued, even in the worst of times; it seems loyalty and rebellion are synonymous terms in his vocabulary. After the close of the last rebellion in 1691, very great numbers of the Irish Romanists, having entered into the service of the French nation, then, and ever since, hostile to the British Empire; the Protestants of the Empire, harassed by so many rebellions of the Irish Romanists, which sprouted out in succession like Hydra's heads, and perceiving that the body of Irish Romanists in the service of France, was constantly recruited from Ireland, and that their hostile disposition to the Protestants had by no means ceased, but would infallibly excite them to a new rebellion, as soon as their recruited strength, like the renovated locks of Sampson, and the encreasing power of the French monarchy, could inspire them with any hopes of success; found it absolutely necessary to adopt such measures, and enact such laws, as seemed best calculated to prevent the repetition of such convulsions, which had been before fatal to multitudes of Irish subjects, Romanists as well as Protestants, and highly calamitous to all; from such considerations sprung the popery laws, they were founded on necessity and reason, and nothing can demonstrate the wisdom and expediency of them

so much, as that whilst they remained part of the laws of the land, the Romanists, resident in Ireland, if not loyal in sentiment, were passively loyal, and remained perfectly quiet; because they dared not be otherwise; during that period, we never heard of unlawful Romish conventions, nor of traitorous speeches made at unlawful assemblies in Romish Chapels; we never heard of a Romish banditti stiled *United Irishmen*, nor of their nightly assassinations and depredations; all these are the blessed fruits of the repeal of that code, as are the inflammatory, menacing, and ranting harangues and publications of you, sir, of your colleague Tone, and of the Romish Priest, Hufsey, the chaplain and emissary of the Marquis Del Campo, who whilst employed in the honourable office of Spanish embassador in England, acted the dishonourable part of spy to the French Jacobins then at war with the British Empire. This priest is the precious importation of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose Prime Minister you were; it is pretty plain that you are well acquainted with Mr. Hufsey, for your sentiments in your address, correspond exactly with his, in his pastoral; you have even imitated his stile; the same pauses, the same interjections, and the same dogmatick sentences; nay you have gone farther: as he interlarded his performance with quotations from scripture, and ornamented it with all the canting hypocritical garb of the Cromwellian fanatics, so you have condescended to insert in your address allusions to the sacred writings, nay to honour them with the title of *holy writ*. I advise you, sir, to take care—be more on your guard—perhaps some of your staunchest adherents may suspect you of Christianity, and begin to think, that you are not so sound a French philosopher, as you have heretofore professed to be. Such opinion, sir, would injure your reputation for sincerity with your associates in the cause in which you are embarked: what would your colleague Tone, say? I certainly, sir, entertain no such suspicion of you, however, I give you this hint, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. I will so far humble myself, sir, in your opinion, as to confess that I am a sincere christian in theory; I am one of those persons, whom you ridicule in your address,

under

under the name of Dreamers ; whose understandings are at a stand, and whose principles of civil government, loyalty, and religion, being long since rooted in that stationary understanding, are by no means shaken or influenced by the revolutions of America or France. The glaring misrepresentations of the behaviour of Irish Protestants to their Romish countrymen, whilst subject to the regimen of popery laws ; and the false and infamous reflexions on the judges of the land, stated in the last paragraphs I have quoted of this pretended pastoral letter, are all calculated to revive old animosities, and inflame the hatred, which the native Irish are known to harbour, against all Englishmen and Protestants ; and it must be confessed the Priest is an adept in the science of exasperating aggravation, and a very proper and able agent for the Marquis Del Campo who now is, or lately was, Spanish ambassador at Paris. One stroke of his respecting the judges of the land is worthy of particular remark ; he states that they denied justice to all Irish Romanists, though they were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied on the oppressed sufferers ; by the calculations lately made relating to the tax of hearth-money, it was computed that there were in Ireland two millions one hundred thousand persons who were so poor, that they could not pay the hearth-money tax, at least without the greatest hardship : and that numbers of them on that account were excused from the payment. These two millions one hundred thousand were the inhabitants of wretched habitations, called cabins, in each of which there was only one fire hearth, and the tax (if levied) would amount in the year to four-pence per head only ; of these, nine-tenths at least were Romanists, in fact they were the bulk of the Irish Romanists, and these people were chargeable with no other tax whatsoever, and therefore their contribution to the expences of the state, in which are included the salaries of the judges, could have been very little indeed ? It is here to be observed, that all laws which peculiarly affected Irish Romanists in their restrictions or provisions have been repealed, and that an Irish Romanist is now in every respect on an equality in point of privilege with

an Irish Protestant, save that the test required to be taken by all members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and by about 30 of the great officers of state, excludes them from parliament and from these offices, as they refuse to take it. Mr. Hussey, after stating that a great part of the popery laws, which he styles *impolitic religious penalties*, are now removed, mentions that the rest, that is, the tests, are in such a state of progress to be totally removed, that if any body of people shall presume to throw obstacles in the way of such removal, they will be crushed by their own rash endeavours; heightening this threat and rendering it more terrible, by the simile of a monstrous rock rolling down from a precipice upon them, and reducing them to atoms in a moment. The persons he supposes may design to throw obstacles in the way, he calls a *junto*, meaning the Protestants of Ireland in general, the probable agents in creating obstacles he calls *mobs*. Sir, the assurance of this man is very nearly equal to your own. Surely the undaunted spirit of political lying never manifested itself more openly, than in this priest, on this occasion. Mobs, sir, all persons, your friends and enemies know and admit are the tools with which you and your associates work. The bulk of mobs, though they may be guided by persons of superior rank, are always the indigent and uninformed classes of society, and Mr. Hussey admits, that such classes are chiefly, if not entirely, composed of Romanists. But the collections of people whom Mr. Hussey means to represent as mobs, are the great corporations, and the grand juries of the several counties, of the kingdom, all of whom have at different times expressed their decided opinions against, and deprecated, the repeal of the parts of the Popery laws which were abrogated in 1793, and against all further relaxations of them; and upon what sound reasons they grounded their opinions may be now seen by the conduct of you and your associates. Mr. Hussey concludes with an argument for the separation of this country from the British Empire, and grounds it with sufficient artifice, as if it was an observation *en passant*, on the geographical position of Ireland, that it is a nation whose *insulated* situation separates

rates it from all the rest of the world : and that the persevering disposition of its natives is, as distinct from that of the inhabitants of the rest of the world, as its geographical situation is from the rest of the earth.

Thus has this Irish Romish priest, under the mask and title of a pastoral letter, published a libel, in which he endeavours with all his power to draw a line of everlasting separation between Irish Protestants and Romanists, and to perpetuate hostility, to exasperate the Romanist against the Protestant by the most rancorous falsehoods, recounting antiquated hardships, and exaggerating them with the most malignant misrepresentation ; as he does also the relative numbers of the Irish Romanists, to encourage insurrection by miscalculated strength : inventing oppressions of the Romish military in religious matters never exercised or thought of, except by himself ; that under pretence of complaint on that head, he might introduce the doctrine of mutiny against their officers, telling them that they are not bound to obey their officers in spiritual matters, and reserving to himself, and others of his own kidney, the determination of what shall be deemed spiritual matters, that is, the determination of, what commands of their officers shall be obeyed by the Romish soldiers, and slyly and wickedly suggesting to the soldiers, that the proper opportunity of revenge on their officers, is the time of action, telling them they may then revenge themselves of their *persecutors*, so he stiles the officers, by slaughtering them and deserting to the enemy : indeed, the main drift of the libel seems to be, to induce the Romish soldiers, on the invasion of this country, well known to be designed by the enemy, to cut the throats of their officers and join the hostile battalions. He endeavours, insidiously enough, to preach up your own doctrine, and that of your colleague, and of your *popular energetic Romanists*, that is, the doctrine of separation from Britain, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, independent of Britain, and he threatens absolute destruction to all Irish Protestants who shall presume to impede the progress of his measures, exactly in the same strain with your address, your three
posts

posts of safety, and example of the dismal fate of American loyalty! Since the Irish government deemed it necessary to establish a seminary in Ireland for the education of Romish priests, to obviate the ill effects of foreign education, and principles of foreign politics, imbibed by gentlemen of that persuasion, destined for the ministry, and to plant the principles of loyalty to their king in their minds in the place of such rank weeds of disaffection, which were hitherto suffered to take root in them; surely no man on earth could be found more unfit for the government of such a seminary than an Irish priest, bred in Spain, the chaplain and emissary of the Marquis Del Campo, whose malignant pen overflows with gall against the Protestant subjects of the British empire; how long such a man will be permitted to remain president of the seminary, it rests with our chief governors to determine.*

Another very eminent Romish ecclesiastic, of whom, it is no compliment to say, that he is a much more loyal subject, than the Salamanca priest just mentioned, published a pastoral letter in the year 1793. This letter also deviates in a great

The pastoral letter of Doctor Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, with remarks upon it.

* Mr. Hufsey is now removed from the presidency of this seminary. He was not removed until the 29th of January last, after this tract had been written, about a year after the publication of his pastoral letter, and just three days before the trustees appointed visitors of this seminary by act of parliament, all Romanists, (except the Lord Chancellor, and the three chief judges) and many of them titular Romish bishops, who in fact govern the seminary; (the judges seldom interfering;) presented a petition to parliament desiring a further pecuniary aid to their seminary, of ten thousand pounds of the public money, which they obtained; together with an implied engagement from parliament to grant them an annual stipend of eight thousand pounds. And Mr. Hufsey was then removed by them from the presidency of this seminary, not for the publication of this infamous libel, but for non-residence.

The Irish Romanists were enabled by act of parliament to found this seminary for the exclusive education of Romish priests from the subscriptions of their own people in 1795; and in the year 1798, when they presented their last petition to parliament for aid, no Romanist either in England or Ireland, had subscribed a penny towards the foundation. They have now obtained from parliament thirty-six thousand pounds, and an engagement to give them annually hereafter eight thousand pounds for their subsistence out of the public purse, in the midst of a most expensive war.

a great measure from its title, and launches with some degree of temerity too far into the ocean of politics. The author of it, Doctor Troy, the titular archbishop of Dublin, is universally reputed a gentleman of great worth and integrity; I quote his work merely to shew, that even he, whom I believe to be as loyal a subject to his sovereign, as any Romanist can be to a Protestant prince, and himself a steady royalist, takes some pains to prove, that Romanists have not, as Romanists, any particular attachment to monarchy: he thus writes, page 26, "The ancient republics of Florence, " Pisa and Sienna were established and governed by Roman " Catholics, who still continue to support those of Poland, " of Venice, of Genoa, of Ragusa, of Lucca, and of Ma- " rino. The Roman Catholics form the most considerable " part of the Helvetic union, and it is remarkable, that " they have adopted a democratical, whereas the Calvinist " and Zuinglian cantons, have preferred an aristocratical " form of government." As you, sir, allege in your address, that the minds of the Romanists have been, by the American and French revolutions, greatly changed, and that a very marvellous alteration has taken place in their opinions; it will not be amiss here to give you some further quotations from this pastoral epistle of Doctor Troy, published in 1793, he being then and now titular archbishop of Dublin. In page 31, is the following passage: "It is a fundamental article of the Roman Catholic faith, that the " pope or bishop of Rome, as successor to St. Peter, prince " of the apostles, in that see, enjoys by divine right a spiritual and ecclesiastical primacy, not only of honour and " rank, *but of real jurisdiction and authority*, in the universal " church. Roman Catholics conceive this point as clearly " established in the scriptures, and by the constant tradition " of the fathers in every age, as it is by the express decisions " of their general councils, which they consider as infallible " authority in points of doctrine." The same author, page 97, "Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Rome. He is guardian " of the general canons, and can alone dispense with them,

" *proprio*

“ *proprio jure*, or by inherent right. Others enjoy that
 “ power by delegation from him. The erection, suppress-
 “ sion and union of bishopricks, and other particular bene-
 “ fices; the elevation of sees to the metropolitanical dignity
 “ and jurisdiction; the institution of general fasts and
 “ holidays; dispensations from their observance; the regula-
 “ tion and inspection of our liturgy; *appeals from inferior ec-*
 “ *clesiastical courts to his supreme tribunal*; the suspension and
 “ restoration of bishops; *and numberless other particulars of*
 “ *our general church discipline* mentioned in the canons, de-
 “ pend on the pope, as on our ecclesiastical superior, and
 “ are connected with his primacy of jurisdiction in the uni-
 “ versal church. Henry the eighth of England, was the
 “ first christian prince, that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy,
 “ and commanded an enslaved parliament to enact it as a
 “ law of the state. *The Catholics consider it an usurpation.*”

A declaration of the principles of Romanists having been
 published in 1792, drawn up by the standing committee,
your popular and energetic Romanists, whom you represent as
 now free from all influence of pope and priest, Doctor Troy
 thus writes respecting that declaration and the Irish laity of
 his communion, page 102: “ The declaration was *respect-*
 “ *fully* submitted to the consideration of the Catholic clergy
 “ by the Catholic committee, nor was it published, till after
 “ the clergy of Dublin had generally approved and signed
 “ it, as containing nothing contrary to the articles of Catho-
 “ lic faith; it was afterwards subscribed by bishops and
 “ clergy in every part of the kingdom in similar terms.”

“ The Catholic laity of Ireland respect their clergy, and
 “ consider it a duty to be regulated by their determinations
 “ in all points of religious doctrine. They are attached to
 “ their pastors and spiritual guides, who love them as their
 “ children in Christ. Clergy and laity are united by the
 “ most tender and interesting considerations. Every effort
 “ to dissolve the union must prove ineffectual. Interest and
 “ duty continue to render it indissoluble. In adversity and
 “ prosperity, they must rise or fall together.” I must here,
 sir, remind you, that you and your party in the House of

Commons in 1793 produced this very declaration mentioned in Doctor Troy's letter, and read it in the House, as a justification of the tenets of the Romanists, and as an argument of their being loyal subjects, and fit to be trusted with the franchises to be conferred on them by the bill in their favour then before the House. And yet when that very declaration was reduced into the form of an oath; and it was proposed on the debate of the bill, that all Romanists who should take the benefit of that bill, in case it should pass into a law, should take that oath; you, and all the Romish party in the House made use of every argument you could think of, and every artifice it was in the power of the most ingenious chicane to suggest, to defeat the proposal: in which you would have been successful, had not some very leading interests in the House, who had been cajoled by the minister of that day, to concur in this bill, taken the alarm at this infamous duplicity of a party, founding their pretensions on a declaration of their principles drawn up by themselves, and afterwards declining to verify their sincerity in these principles by an oath; and told the minister roundly, that they would vote against, and damn, the bill, unless the oath was inserted: the minister, with whom on that occasion you and your party were acting in concert, informed you of this circumstance, and you were obliged most reluctantly to consent to the insertion of the oath in the bill, modified however, and much reduced below the strength of the declaration. It has given me pain, in reading Doctor Troy's letter, to observe to what lamentable and sophistical casuistry, *W* man, as he is, of learning and good understanding, and, (detached from extreme bigotry to his sect) of great integrity, is reduced, to reconcile that part of the declaration, stating that it was no part of the faith of a Romanist, that the Pope was infallible, to the avowed doctrine of the Romish church in that point. In short, let any honest Protestant of tolerable understanding and learning read this pastoral letter of Doctor Troy attentively through, and let him take it for granted, as I do, that he has therein fairly set forth and explained the doctrines of the Romish church, and it will

will be impossible for him not to conclude and determine, that the votaries of a sect, holding such doctrines, are thereby completely disqualified from being either legislators or dispensers of the law, in a Protestant state: and that it would be insanity to admit them to either of these functions. Your first argument then in favour of what you are pleased to stile emancipation, to wit, that Romanists are not now what they were formerly, for that they have freed themselves lately from all influence of pope, priest, or pretender, and that therefore they should be admitted into parliament, and rendered capable of filling the great offices of the state, is founded entirely on your own ipse dixi—your own dogmatic assertion, your constant and only argument—not only without proof, but in contradiction to the incessant publications of your committee of nine, your *popular and energetic Romanists*, and of every distinguished member of the Romish communion who have thought proper to publish their opinions on this subject. The influence of the pretender I have shewn already to be out of the question; your *popular and energetic Romanists* are now under the influence of a more dangerous principle than attachment to the pretender, and more inimical to our constitution; inasmuch as the influence of the pretender over them induced them to endeavour to transfer the imperial diadem of Britain, to which the kingdom of Ireland is annexed, and on which it is dependant, from the brows of one prince, to encircle the head of another. But the influence of republicanism over them, teaches them to overthrow the constitution by substituting in the place of the monarchy, a democratic republic; and to destroy the unity of the British Empire by tearing Ireland from it. The influence of pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, which is one and the same influence, remains as it always did and always will remain, as long as they shall continue to be Romanists, because it is of the very essence of their religion, and cannot expire but with their religion: and it is the very principle of their religion, which in a Protestant state excludes them from the functions of legislation or execution of the laws.

Besides the arguments already adduced to prove that this influence exists unimpaired with the Romanists, there is one argument, which, exclusive of all others, proves it to demonstration, and that is, the rejection of the oath of supremacy by the Romanists, they will not abjure the power of the pope. The oath of supremacy is, *that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm.* I shall, sir, before I finish, more fully explain the reasons of the incapacity of Romanists to exercise certain civil functions from this influence of the pope over them; at present I have stated enough to overturn your first argument in favour of Romish exaltation arising from the extinction of all influence of pope, priest, and pretender, over them, so roundly and so groundlessly asserted by you. But as in this part of my answer I have mentioned and quoted Doctor Troy's pastoral letter, I cannot avoid observing, that this letter contains some of the leaven, of which there is such an exuberance in the seditious libel already mentioned of Mr. Hufsey. The following passage is to be found in page 99 of Doctor Troy's letter: "At this day, Protestantism is the established *state* religion in Ireland; the Catholic religion is that of the *Irish people*:" In the same spirit, Mr. Hufsey asserts, "that popery is the *religion of Irishmen*:" Both very strongly insinuating, that the Protestants of Ireland are so insignificant a body of men (though in number one third at least, and in property and power twenty parts out of twenty-one, of the whole people) that when the word *people* is made use of, they are not entitled to any notice or consideration; this serves to animate the Romish party, by magnifying their strength, and depreciating that of the Irish Protestants. Menace also is not entirely omitted in Doctor Troy's letter, though introduced with more address and caution, than are used by Mr. Hufsey. The quotation from Tertullian, addressing the Roman emperors and other pagans on behalf of the christians in page 12 of Doctor Troy's letter, deserves notice, in which the account of the numbers of christians, and their ability to do mischief to the

Roman empire, nay, to overturn it, at that time, if they were so inclined, is evidently applied by the Doctor to the present state of Ireland: His majesty and his Protestant Irish subjects, being alluded to by the pagans, and the Irish Romanists by the christians. The same allusion is continued in subsequent quotations respecting the persecutions of christians by Pagan and Arian emperors and kings; and as I have a personal respect for Doctor Troy, which I assure you, sir, I do not entertain for you, for Mr. Hussey, or your associates, I do earnestly recommend it to Doctor Troy hereafter to employ his pen, in setting before the people of his persuasion, that they now enjoy, equally with their Protestant countrymen, every advantage of a free constitution, the envy and admiration of every nation on earth, where the nature of that constitution is understood; in preference to rousing into action those furies, destructive of the human race, revenge, envy, avarice, and ambition, by the publication of threats and ill-considered and erroneous calculations of the relative numbers, strength, and power of the Irish Romanists: which if fairly compared with the real strength of the Irish Protestants, arising from the combined energy of their numbers, property, and situation, will afford no rational encouragement even to *popular and energetic Romanists*, to commence hostilities against their Protestant countrymen, if they had (as they have not) provocations sufficient to justify such dangerous extremities: and if compared with the relative numbers, strength, and power of the Protestants of the British Empire, of which Ireland is only a part, and which Protestants, in case of an Irish rebellion, would to a man unite against the Irish Romanists: the almost infinite disparity of force must ensure the defeat of such ruinous projects, as well as the utter destruction of the projectors; as it has already done on four successive trials; and it would be wise in Doctor Troy, and other reasonable men of his profession, maturely to consider, whether reiterated menaces of Irish Romanists against their Protestant countrymen, and extravagant boasts of their power and numbers, will not at length impel the Irish Protestants, on the principle of self-defence,

to re-enact the popery code, or at least some parts of it, which whilst it continued to be part of the law of the land, kept the Romanists quiet, and ensured their submission to their sovereign and the laws.

You state, sir, with the most dogmatic impudence, that the unconstitutional influence of the crown, and the *proscription* of the Catholics were the fundamental causes of our present discontents and jealousies. As to the first cause, the influence of the crown, it is less now in this kingdom, than it was before the present discontents arose; and before I close this answer, I shall demonstrate that the crown neither has, nor exercises, any unconstitutional influence in this kingdom; as to the second pretended cause, I have already stated, that it is one of the most barefaced and malignant falsehoods, and slanders upon the Irish government, that ever was invented or propagated, that when you ventured to assert it in parliament, you were called upon to substantiate the accusation by some proof, you never produced any, because you could not, and you now repeat the calumny again, contented to sustain the character of the convicted, irreclaimable, and unrepentant political falsifier, provided you can extract from the slander even the smallest spark of inflammation. The two causes therefore assigned by you for the present discontents could not be the causes, because they never existed. You then proceed to urge the claim of the Romanists, to what you call emancipation, by alleging, “ that the
 “ Irish Romanists of the present day have laid aside all their
 “ ancient prejudices, that their minds have been in a state of
 “ progressive improvement during the last 25 years, whilst
 “ the mind of the state, that is the understandings of all
 “ persons concerned in the administration of the govern-
 “ ment, stood still, and received no improvement; that the
 “ state was the bigot, and the people the philosopher. That
 “ all persons who opposed the claims of the Romanists in
 “ parliament were declamatory dreamers, and infinitely in-
 “ ferior in understanding to the Romish orators who figured
 “ away at Francis-street chapel, as may be seen by the
 “ speeches of both published in the newspapers. That the
 “ Romish

Further arguments of Mr. Grattan for emancipation.

“ Romish newspaper publications of the present day, amongst
 “ which are many of your own lucubrations, are the most
 “ exquisite specimens of erudition, argument, and elocution
 “ that were ever produced : that the clergy and higher order
 “ of the laity are now the ignorant classes of society, and the
 “ lower classes of the people the enlightened : that the *intel-*
 “ *lectual vision* of these lower classes of the people was be-
 “ come comprehensive to an astonishing degree : that when
 “ government complained of the press, they complained of
 “ the superiority of the popular understanding. That when
 “ once the powers of Intellect are possessed by the great body
 “ of the nation, ’tis madness to hope to impose on that na-
 “ tion, civil or religious oppression, particularly *in those whose*
 “ *understandings have been stationary, though their powers and*
 “ *riches have been progressive.* That the part, the most *popu-*
 “ *lar and energetic,* of the great body of the Romanists, had
 “ formed with the great body of reformers, a Catholic,
 “ Presbyterian, and Protestant league, for the freedom of
 “ the Romish religion, and a free and full representation of
 “ the people, burying theological discord for ever in the
 “ love of civil and political liberty : that the present Irish re-
 “ ligion is unanimity against despotism.” It is here to be
 remarked, that throughout your whole address by the term
people, you mean Romanists exclusively ; and by the terms
 higher classes, Protestants exclusively, whose minds you re-
 present to be stationary, their power and riches progressive.
 The above declamatory and diffusive argument, in favour of
 what you stile Catholic emancipation, may be thus condensed.
 The Irish Romanists of the present day are not of the same
 opinions with their ancestors, they were monarchists ; the
 present race, at least the most *popular* and *energetic* part of
 them, are republicans ; all such persons, usurping the titles
 of Protestants or Presbyterians, as are the disciples of Paine,
 Price and Priestley, being also republicans and enemies to
 the connexion with England, have embodied themselves into
 a faction for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution,
 and forming a republic separated from Great Britain : and
 being themselves unequal to the attempt, they have applied

to the *popular* and *energetic Romanists* for aid. The views of both parties being the same as to separation and republicanism, they have entered into a league, the object of which is, the subversion of the constitution in church and state. Therefore the Irish Protestants, attached friends to the constitution, ought to arm the Romanists with additional political powers, to enable them to be more effective allies to the deistical republicans in the patriotic work of subversion and separation. Such, sir, is the absurd argument, you have the presumption to adduce, in support of your project of emancipation, when disrobed of all the unsubstantial frippery with which you have attempted at once to deck and disguise it. I cannot however dismiss this doughty argument, without a few strictures on your taste and feelings so fully delineated in the progress of it. You pour forth your praises on the daily publications in the Romish newspapers, as well of the unrivalled excellence of the stile of these compositions, as of the matter of them. Now, sir, as to the stile of these daily publications, I have the general opinion of all men of letters with me, when I assert that such effusions of barbarism and nonsense never before, at any period since the invention of printing, flowed from the press, as have flowed from the Romish presses in the city of Dublin, for these five or six years past, and I leave you, sir, in full enjoyment of the delight you daily receive from the perusal of such Attic compositions; your own performances sometimes fill their columns, you are yourself in composition a perfect *artifex deliciarum*: treasure up, sir, every one of those valuable productions, they will be preserved by nobody else, may you be the asylum—the retreat of all those ephemeral emanations from intellects congenial with your own!

Where all the suffering brotherhood retire,
And 'scape the martyrdom of jakes and fire.

I shall observe no further on your taste, but conclude with the line of the Mantuan poet,

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi!

As to the matter of these publications, which you represent as *powerful, of profound and spirited investigation*, I may safely appeal to the public, whether there ever was, in any age or country, so much profligacy and wickedness, so openly and so notoriously recommended to practice, and praised in such extravagant terms, as in the daily publications, of these infamous newspapers, which are the disgrace of the age, and of the nation. They publicly excite to murder and robbery, and that they have been too successful in propagating such hellish doctrines is a melancholy truth, that cannot be denied. The state of the country attests it, and you, sir, have openly in your present address lavished your praises on the horrible murders and robberies nightly committed, as I have already observed: You state, sir, expressly, that all these disorders are committed in a public cause, that is, for the benefit of the public, thus exclaiming to the citizens of Dublin: "It is a public cause, and let no man persuade you, that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other;" in this manner asserting the justice and propriety of all these nocturnal murders and depredations. In another place you insinuate that the execution of the law on some of those malefactors, gave them a title to martyrdom, and that the cause of reform, in which according to you they had committed the murders for which they suffered, would be promoted by their martyrdom; as the christian religion was propagated by the blood of its first martyrs: Thus encouraging assassination and murder by the grossest impiety. It may be justly observed on these newspaper publications, that their stupidity and vulgarity do not in the least diminish the acrimony of the poison they contain, the vehicle is sufficient to convey it to the understandings of the mob, well inclined to use it against their superiors. It is observed in history, that the poison, a few drops of which diluted in wine destroyed Alexander the Great, was of so frigid a nature, that it bursted all vessels into which it was put, except an excavated ass's hoof; but such its frigidity and the baseness of its vehicle in no wise diminished its deleterious qualities. One newspaper weekly published in Dublin, points out by name the victims destined, as it asserts, to assassination by a committee of United Irishmen;

men; and strongly urges the necessity of immediate execution. I presume, sir, this is one of your *powerful publications*; and as each successive day exceeds the preceding, in examples of all kinds of murder, robbery, and wickedness, I am strongly induced to agree with you in one point, viz. that the minds of your *popular* and *energetic* Romanists, as well as your own, are in a state of progression; for it is an old and true observation, that vice is progressive, *nemo repente fuit turpissimus*.

I have now, sir, gone through such arguments (if they deserve that name) as you have adduced directly in support of the measure, so fraudulently stiled by you *emancipation*. But other arguments you have introduced in support of the same measure, by way of answer to arguments which as you state had been made use of by its adversaries, and which you grossly misrepresent, as usual with you, mixing your misrepresentations with a due portion of direct notorious falsehood; and suggesting that your adversaries had used arguments, the absurdity of which proves them to be the genuine offspring of your own brain, created by you for two purposes, the one, to fix the imputation of folly on your adversaries; the other to shew your dexterity in refuting them; as children erect houses of cards to have the pleasure of overturning them by a blast of their mouths. For instance, you state: "That the only impediment to the Catholic claim" (meaning emancipation) "as the law stands, was the *oath* requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence. That it was argued by the adversaries of that claim, that it was irreconcilable with the safety of the king, that to make these points, at such a time as the present, a matter of alarm to the safety of the king, was to give an air of ridicule to the serious calamities in which his ministers had involved him." Then, sir, you launch out into the most delightful declamation on the absurdity of persons insisting that others should be of the same religious opinions with themselves. This is an old topick with philosophers and freethinkers, such as Tom Chubb the soap-boiler, and Tom Paine the stay-maker; Toland, Tindall, Collins, Morgan, Apgill, &c. &c. they have

have already exhausted all their eloquence and wit upon it, and there is no sect of christianity, against which the ridicule, attached to such a doctrine, applies so strongly as the Roman Catholic, because of all christian sects, that has most violently and most frequently exercised persecution, and it is in fact the most intolerant. How did you hug yourself when the following beautiful figurative sentences flowed from your pen!

“ That kings had no right to enter into the tabernacle of the
 “ human mind, and hang up images of their own orthodoxy;
 “ that the Catholics did not insist his Majesty should be of
 “ their religion, that his Majesty had no right to exact that
 “ the Catholics should be of his—that we know of no royal
 “ rule either for religion or mathematics: that in matters
 “ of religion both king and subject are equally dark and
 “ should be equally humble; that when courts or kings
 “ assume a dictation on that subject, they assume a familiarity
 “ with the Almighty, which is excess of blasphemy as well
 “ as blindness!” then you proceed, sir, *like a great philosopher* as you are, to philosophize on the nature of the divinity and his attributes, and the inefficacy and even folly of addressing the divinity in *prayer*, which you honour with the title of *luxurious and complimentary devotion*: in all which most philosophic rant, though you display the profundity of your speculation on your own *immeasurable inanity* (to use your own expressions) yet you are certainly somewhat inferior to your masters, Tom Chubb, Tom Paine, and the rest of the gang, all of whom, exclusive of their priority of declamation on the subject, in some parts of their writings outdo you, in flighty, frothy, and unintelligible bombast!

It is worthy of notice however, that your deduction from the admitted absurdity, of persons insisting that others should adopt their religious opinions, is somewhat too general, for you deduce generally, that difference of religious opinions should not exclude any subjects from becoming legislators in the state; from which it will follow, that in a christian state, the Mahometan, the Jew, and the Pagan, have an equal right with the christian subjects, to become legislators; a doctrine which such philosophers as yourself, and particularly you

French masters, had not only swallowed themselves, but endeavoured to ram it down the throats of others, but which every sect of real christians will find somewhat hard of digestion.

Mr. Grat-
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But, sir, after thus paying my homage to your philosophy, to your eloquence, and your wit, it is time to return to your assertions. And pray, sir, where have you found the *oath* requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the doctrine of the real presence, which *oath* you assert to be the only impediment of the Catholic claim? I have very carefully examined the statutes, and I cannot find that any such oath is enjoined to be taken on any occasion by any of his majesty's subjects. All members of parliament before they are permitted to vote in either house, are obliged to repeat and subscribe a declaration, in which is contained a disavowal of the belief of the doctrine which enjoins the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary, and of other saints. They are also, at the same time, obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, the oath of supremacy, and the oath of abjuration of the descendants of the late King James the second; but no oath whatsoever abjuring the worship of the Virgin Mary and the doctrine of the real presence. Protestants admit the blessed Virgin, as having been the earthly mother of our Redeemer, to be in dignity the greatest of saints, but they do not think her to be a divinity, or part of the divinity, and therefore entitled to adoration. The declaration above mentioned was enjoined to be repeated and subscribed by all members of parliament in England, in the latter end of the reign of King Charles the second, when the nation was full of apprehensions of the evils likely to ensue, from the accession to the crown of the then heir apparent, who was a Roman Catholic, the justice of which apprehensions was afterwards fully established; and the legislature then framed this declaration, as a sort of barrier against the inundation of popery, which they dreaded; it was afterwards adopted in this kingdom. It is a doctrine which can be well maintained by all the principles of justice, reason, and common advantage of all the subjects of a state, in which there is an established religion, that no person should be admitted to be a legislator in such a state who is not a member of the established

blished religion : but our laws enjoin no oaths to be taken abjuring points of doctrine, which, reduced to practice, induce no detriment to the state. Thus, fir, your assertion, that the only impediment to the Catholic claim, as the law now stands, is the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence, is false in fact, there being no such oath by law required to be taken by Romanists or any other subjects ; and indeed in this particular, I believe the falsehood is not imputable to your heart, but to your ignorance of law and fact. And then, fir, what becomes of your elegant declamation, in which you have laboured to rival and surpass, your masters the soap-boiler and stay-maker, founded on this false assertion ! all your reprobation of royal rules in religion or mathematics ! of royal dictation in matters of religion ! of the blindness and excessive blasphemy of kings in assuming a familiarity with the Almighty ! All this rant proceeds from your own blindness, ignorance, and vanity, seasoned with a due proportion of your inveterate malignity against the monarchical government of your country.

And now, fir, I will tell you a real and true impediment, as the law stands, arising from an oath, to the admission of Romanists into either House of Parliament, or into the great executive offices of the state ; an impediment which has not law alone, but reason and the safety of the state for its basis, and which, fir, many members of the last Parliament as well as myself, whom in your address you distinguish by the title of dreamers, have frequently mentioned in the House of Commons in debates on this claim of the Romanists, and supported by arguments founded on justice, reason, and law ; to which arguments you sometimes opposed declamatory, inflated nonsense, loud hysterical exclamations, uncommon grimace, and distortions of your body ; for in truth you were unable to refute the arguments, and so were men much abler than you, then voting with you in the House : at other times, conscious of your inability to answer you sat wrapped up in your own assumed importance, like the maniac in Bedlam, who fancied himself pope, and affected to treat the arguments of your opponents with contempt, which they returned with considerable

siderable interest. *The true impediment is, that Romanists refuse to take the oath of supremacy, part of which oath is, "That no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this Realm."* By the Irish Statutes of the 28th of Henry the 8th, chap. 5th, and of the 2nd of Eliz. chap. 1st. the kings and queens of this realm, and their successors, are declared to be supreme heads, that is, governors of the church of Ireland, and by these two acts, as well as by another, of the 28th of Henry the 8th, chap. 13, the authority and jurisdiction both temporal and spiritual, before that time claimed and exercised by the pope in Ireland are utterly abolished; and by the last statute it is enacted, that if any person shall, by writing or act, maintain the authority of the Bishops of Rome heretofore used in this kingdom, he shall incur the penalty of premunire.

It is very notorious that all Irish Romanists acknowledge the authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome in *spirituals* within this kingdom; if any change has taken place in the understandings and opinions of the Irish Romanists, as you, sir, assert, it is not a change of their opinions of the jurisdiction of the pope in *spirituals* in this kingdom: the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by Irish Romanists, contains a clause, that the pope has no *temporal or civil jurisdiction* directly or indirectly within this realm; one fortieth part of the Irish Romanists have not yet taken this oath; but they all to a man refuse to take the oath of supremacy, disclaiming the *spiritual* jurisdiction of the pope: and Doctor Troy before mentioned, the Romish archbishop of Dublin, in open defiance of the statute of the 28th of Henry the 8th before mentioned, has, in his pastoral letter published in 1793, maintained the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope in Ireland: he has also stated, that the declaration of the principles of Romanists before mentioned was respectfully submitted to the inspection of himself and the Romish clergy in Ireland, by the standing committee of the Romanists, and was approved of by them before it was published.

Doctor

Doct^r Troy thus states: " That Catholics are obliged to believe, as an article of their faith, that the pope or bishop of Rome, as successor of saint Peter, is the supreme visible head of the church on earth, and the centre of Catholic unity; with a primacy by divine right of *real authority and jurisdiction* in the universal church, and that all Catholics owe him canonical respect and obedience on that account; and he represents this supremacy of the pope as one of those points on which all Catholics are agreed, as an *immutable article of their faith*." See Doct^r Troy's pastoral letter, page 72. It appears clearly that Doct^r Troy has fairly represented the opinions of the Irish Romanists of this day of the *spiritual* supremacy of the pope, and that they have not in the least changed their opinions in that respect; because they reject universally at this day the oath of supremacy, abjuring the spiritual authority of the pope in this kingdom. That it is impossible to divest the supremacy in spirituals, of a very considerable share of temporal power, is very easy to be proved: the absolute separation of the two powers is impracticable. I shall just mention one instance of the indissoluble connexion in a christian country, of spiritual and temporal power. On the lawfulness of matrimony depends almost entirely, the succession to all temporal property, whether real or personal: matrimony by the Romanists is held a sacrament, the validity of it is entirely of spiritual jurisdiction: if the pope then, as Romanists hold, has the supreme and final jurisdiction in this particular, he must derive very great temporal power and influence from it; he must ultimately decide, whether a person claiming under his father or his mother, is entitled to the succession to their real or personal property, because such decision will depend on the validity of their marriage; he must decide whether a party has, or has not, a right to intermarry with another, or whether a party is barred from that right by consanguinity, affinity, pre-contract, or former marriage; he must ultimately decide on separate maintenance, alimony, or whether a man is, or is not, bound to pay the debts of a woman, claiming him as her husband, with a hundred other temporal incidents. It will, sir, be worth your attention to consider

A great share of temporal power adheres to, and is inseparably connected with, the supremacy in spirituals.

consider what opinion the parliament of this kingdom, just escaping from the fangs of the pope's usurped authority, entertained of the *temporal* effects of the *spiritual* jurisdiction of the Pope exercised in the case of matrimony alone: In an Irish statute enacted in the 33d year of Hen. 8th, entitled "An act for marriages," are the following passages: "Whereas heretofore the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome hath always entangled and troubled, the *jurisdiction* and *regal power* of this land of Ireland, and also inquired much the subjects of the same, by his usurped power in them, as by making that unlawful which by God's word is lawful, both in marriages and other things, whereof some sparkles be left which hereafter might kindle a great fire." The statute then proceeds, "that it was customary for the Court of Rome, to divorce parties who had been long married and had issue, on the pretence of pre-contracts without consummation, and of kindred between cousins german, and so to fourth and fifth degrees, and of carnal knowledge of any of the same kin or affinity before, in such outward degrees, to procure money for dispensations, whereby not only much discord between lawful married persons hath arisen, much debate and suit at law, with wrongful vexation, and great damage of the innocent parties hath been procured, and many just marriages in doubt and danger of undoing, and also many times undone, and lawful heirs disinherited, and marriages have been brought to such an uncertainty thereby, that no marriage could be so sure knit and bounden, but it should be in either of the parties power to defeat the same."

Innumerable other instances, of the inseparable adhesion of temporal power to supreme spiritual power, can be adduced, and Irish Romanists not only hold, that the supreme legislature of the state, whether that state be monarchical or republican, is utterly incompetent to bind them, even to a passive, much less to an active, obedience in spiritual affairs; but unequivocally hold, that the sole power of enacting, interpreting or executing laws, respecting spiritual matters, is vested in the pope, a foreign prince, and this tenet they esteem an article of their faith,

faith; and as they will not allow that any law of the state is binding on them in spiritual matters, it follows of course, that they hold it as an article of their faith, that the law of the state cannot bind them in such temporal matters as are inseparably united to spiritual matters, such as matrimony, and all its consequences; and innumerable others: Romanists then, if admitted to the functions of legislation in the state, must, if they act conscientiously, endeavour with all their power to abrogate and abolish all temporal laws now in force; or which may be at any time proposed to be enacted, which relate to spiritual affairs, whether connected with temporal matters or not, but more especially when so connected: and if they shall be intrusted with the great executive offices of the state, they must conceive themselves in conscience bound to obstruct the execution, and defeat the effect of them, to the best of their power; hence must follow a great alteration, if not a total subversion, of our constitution. Is it consistent with the rules of either reason or civil policy to make legislators of those, who make it an article of their faith, that the supreme legislature of the state (whether monarchical or republican it signifies not) is not competent to bind them by its laws in all cases? and that they are in conscience bound to so active a disobedience to the laws of their country enacted by the legislature of it, in many instances, not only of a spiritual, but a temporal nature, as to endeavour with all their might to obstruct, and defeat, the execution of them? and are such persons to be trusted with the execution of those laws? no person of common sense will answer these questions in the affirmative.

It has been sometimes objected to this mode of reasoning, that no inconvenience is experienced in Roman Catholic states, the subjects of which hold the independence of the spiritual on the temporal power; to this I answer, that in such states the general tenor of the laws is conformable to the doctrines of the Romish church, and that almost all those states, whether monarchies or republics, exercise a very despotic power over their subjects, and therefore find their account in preserving a strict alliance with the clergy, to enable

them more effectually to maintain that despotic authority which they assume, and to wink at religious usurpations to countenance their own invasions of the rights of the people; besides, *popular opinions are of little weight in such governments, from all shares in which the people are generally excluded*: but in a Protestant state there can be no alliance between the state and the Romish clergy; their creeds respecting the powers of legislation, are not only different, but hostile; and in a Protestant state, such as the British empire, in which part, and the most efficient and powerful part, of the legislature, is an elective popular assembly, and civil liberty its aim, it would be utterly inconsistent with its safety, or indeed existence, to permit that assembly to be elected out of a part of the people, who hold as a point of faith, so anarchical a doctrine, that the state is not supreme within the countries subject to its dominions; what infinite mischief such doctrine has produced even in Romish countries, and particularly in our own heretofore, and to what distress it has reduced some of the greatest of our monarchs, the histories of the different states of Europe, and of our own in particular, sufficiently testify.

I have heard some objections against the probability of any political evil resulting from such doctrine in case the aforesaid impediment to the admission of Romanists into the legislature were removed; they have indeed been chiefly urged by you, sir, in your harangues in the House of Commons, and they are so very weak and absurd, that I would not have here taken notice of them, but with a view of exposing to the world the miserable weapons, the daggers of Iath, with which such a political harlequin as you are, have attempted to assault the constitution.

Mr. Grattan's argument drawn from the inbecility of the pope as a temporal prince examined and refuted.

First, sir, you have frequently dwelt on the impotence of the pope considered as a temporal prince, and ridiculed the apprehensions entertained of his power to undermine, or in any shape to affect the government of this country; and asserted that the doctrine held by Romanists, that the pope was supreme head of the church on earth, and that the state has no power to bind the laity in spiritual matters, but that

such

such power is vested in the pope independent of the state, is merely a speculative doctrine inoperative from the inefficiency of the pope's temporal power. Contemptible sophistry! The danger of the doctrine does not arise from the power or want of power of the pope, considered as a temporal sovereign; it consists entirely in the number and strength of the subjects of the state, *whose government is partly popular*, who hold such a doctrine, as a point of faith: the person who denies that the supreme authority of the state, of which he is a subject, is competent to bind him by its laws in spiritual matters, inseparably connected with temporal in various instances, is a bad subject; and a great number of such persons in a state form a faction very dangerous to it; they are the attached partizans and agents in a state, of the foreign power whom they believe to be competent to bind them by its decrees in spiritual matters; and the danger of the state arises from their ability and readiness to execute such decrees; the state may be in the utmost danger from such principles and ability in their own subjects, though the foreign oracle, whose mandates they obey, be not in his own state or sphere invested with any temporal power whatever: And it matters not to the state whether such supreme power be exercised or directed by the pope or by the Irish Romish clergy themselves, so long as they maintain the dogma, that they are in spiritual matters independent of, and paramount to, the state; or whether the pope be a weak or a powerful temporal prince: the danger to the state arises from the number and strength of its own subjects denying the state to be competent to bind them to obedience to its laws, and to have the power within itself, to decide all causes between its own subjects, without appeal or application to any foreign tribunal, but on the contrary acknowledging the power of a tribunal independent of the state in spiritual matters. If the influence of pope and priest over the Irish Romanists, as you maintain, is at an end, let them come forward and take the oath of supremacy; if they shall offer to take that oath, then, sir, you may argue that mere speculative points of doctrine held by Romanists, though contrary to the faith of Protestants, such as the ado-

ration of the blessed virgin, the invocation of saints, and belief of the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that most uncharitable dogma, that the souls of all persons who are not of their communion are destined to eternal torments, ought not to exclude them from the legislative and executive capacities; and your arguments will have then some weight, though in all well regulated states, persons publicly maintaining mere speculative points of doctrine contrary to that of the established religion, have been generally excluded from any participation of legislative and other political capacities; because difference in religious opinions, even in mere speculative points, has been generally found to engender differences in political pursuits, and violent animosities, feuds, and factions in a state, where the leaders of the different sects are possessed of a considerable share of political power.

Mr. Grat-
tan's argu-
ment drawn
from the
state of the
province of
Canada,
examined
and refut-
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Your next argument against the probability of danger to the state, from the admission of the Irish Romanists into the legislative and executive capacities, is, that the province of Canada, part of the British Empire, remained faithful to Britain during the American war, though its inhabitants are Romanists; it is not strange that you should stuff this doughty argument, scouted and derided, as often as you have advanced it, into the farrago of your address; you were determined to make it a general collection of all the rags and shreds, you had employed your whole life, in scraping from every dunghill of sedition and treason in which you had rooted, with all the industry of the collector of rags for a paper mill. The province of Canada surrendered to the British arms by capitulation, part of which was, that the inhabitants should enjoy their laws and religion, in the same manner they had done before they submitted; Britain accepted of them as subjects on these express conditions; they stipulated for the enjoyment of their religion, which was the Romish, and British faith, always inviolable, secured to them the full enjoyment of that religion. They were, before their surrender, governed by a French Viceroy, they are now governed by an English one, exercising, according to the capitulation,

capitulation, the same powers the French Viceroy did. The executive government of the country, and the military force, are in the hands of persons appointed by his majesty, and *the people in general have no share in the government*: in such a situation of things, in a remote province, subject to a great and powerful nation, the belief of the people in the spiritual supremacy of the pope, can do very little mischief; 'tis little more there than a mere speculative point of doctrine: But the case is widely different, in a nation, *the most efficient part of whose government, to wit, the House of Commons, is elective by the people, as is the case in Ireland*, and the absurdity of deducing the political innocence of such a doctrine in Ireland, from its being found innoxious in the weak, remote, and newly conquered, province of Canada during the American war, *the mass of whose inhabitants has no share in the government*, is glaring and notorious. But the loyalty of the Canadians to the British Empire during that period is clearly deduced from necessity arising from their situation, and from the principle of self-interest, independent of all religious considerations. There is only one entrance to the province of Canada from the ocean, to wit, the river St. Laurence: the winter is so rigorous in that climate, that this entrance is locked up by ice for six months in the year; the fortrefs of Quebec, and the opposite small island of Orleans, shut up this entrance for the remaining six months, to be opened only to the subjects of that power, whether Protestant or Romanist, which possesses these barriers; and that power must for ages command the obedience of the Canadians, be they of what religious persuasion they may: they cannot at present exist for two seasons, and hardly for one, without a supply of European commodities, they can be supplied with them only by the river St. Laurence: for between them and the united states of America lies an immense tract of country, mostly covered with forests, and thinly inhabited by barbarous and ferocious tribes of Indians: The river St. Laurence can be locked up by one thousand troops and a frigate or two stationed at Quebec; thus it is apparent that the fidelity of the Romish Canadians to the British Empire during the American

American war, was founded on necessity arising from situation, and from their interest; that no consideration of religion was amongst the causes of that war, and if it had been so, and if the war on the part of the Americans had been undertaken, for the purpose of subverting a Protestant establishment and substituting a Romish in its place, yet such was the situation and necessities of the Canadians, that they must have remained faithful to Britain during the contest. The situation of the Irish Romanists is in every respect different, and the deduction of their loyalty, if invested with legislative and executive authority in the state, from the loyalty or rather obedience of the Romish Canadians to the British Empire during the American war, arising from situation and necessity, is equally ridiculous and absurd. You rather hint, than urge, another kind of argument, tacked to the Canada argument, for what you call the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and that is, that his majesty's allies, (meaning the emperor and queen of Portugal) are Roman Catholics; how you can deduce that a part of his majesty's Irish subjects being Roman Catholics, and not amounting to more than one sixth part of his European subjects, should be invested with the legislative and executive capacities in his dominions, at the manifest hazard of their domestic tranquility, from his majesty's alliance with foreign powers of the Roman Catholic persuasion against a ferocious foreign enemy, is more than I can discover or explain, and I resign that task to your own amazing sagacity as a French philosopher and politician.

Mr. Grattan's assertion that Irish Romanists have a natural and indefeasible right to a full participation of the legislative and executive capacities examined and refused.

After exhibiting these egregious specimens of your argumentative powers, you proceed to assert roundly, that the Irish Romanists have as good a right to seats in parliament, and to the enjoyment of the great offices of the state, as the king has to the crown, and that such is an indefeasible right. Before I quote your insolent, petulant, and malignant assertions on this head, I must again repeat, that the Irish Romanists are now invested with all the privileges enjoyed by Protestants, except that they cannot sit or vote in parliament, nor enjoy a few great offices of the state, without taking the same test, which Protestants are obliged to take, to qualify them

them for sitting in parliament, and enjoying such places; that such test operates as an exclusion of Romanists in those particulars, but not of Protestants; and that Irish Romanists, notwithstanding that exclusion, now enjoy a much greater measure of civil liberty, than the most favoured subjects of any other state on the face of the earth enjoy at this day. The right of Irish Romanists to seats in parliament and to the enjoyment of the great offices of the state (the only portion of civil privileges from which they are now excluded, and excluded in the manner before mentioned only) you assert in this manner: "The principles which placed
 " his majesty's family on the throne were those of liberty.
 " His Irish subjects, if not convicted of felony, are entitled
 " to the benefit of these principles, and the Catholics have
 " in justice and reason *at least* as good a right to liberty as
 " his majesty has to the crown; we implored ministers against
 " such an enemy as democracy, a giant with a hundred
 " hands, to ally and identify the king with all his people,
 " without distinction of religion, and not to detach him
 " from any part of them, to make a miserable alliance
 " with *priestcraft*, which *was a falling cause and a superannu-*
 " *ated folly.*"

Now, sir, it is admitted, that the principles which placed his majesty's family on the throne were those of civil liberty, and that all his subjects, English and Irish, are entitled to the benefit of such principles, unless they forfeit such benefit, by being convicted according to law, of crimes, the legal punishment of which is loss of liberty, or unless they entertain principles subversive of civil liberty; all members of civil societies, are obliged to surrender a portion of their natural rights to the society, to procure the secure enjoyment of the rights of that society, and if any members of that society hold principles subversive of the institution, the society has an absolute right to abridge such members of such parts of the rights and privileges of that society, as would enable them to disturb, or in the end to subvert it, if they were permitted to exercise them; and such right has in many instances been exercised by the legislature of this kingdom; the

the place bill is one, which excludes from the legislative capacity persons who hold, or shall hold, certain places, under the government, on the ground, that the conduct of such persons, if admitted into the legislative assembly, might be biassed by self interest, and that they might vote therein, as directed by ministers, to retain the emolument of their places, contrary to the interest of their constituents, and to the principles of the constitution. How much stronger are the grounds for excluding from the legislative capacity subjects who hold doctrines as points of faith, not only contrary, but hostile, to the fundamental laws of the state, and the very constitution itself! The Irish Romanists have a right to enjoy, and actually do enjoy, all the privileges of the subjects of a free state, and are abridged of no privileges, except of such as they cannot be permitted to exercise, consistent with the safety of the state, to wit, the legislative and executive functions; the latter in some instances only. To insinuate as you do, that all persons are slaves, who do not enjoy the legislative and executive capacities, is to insinuate a doctrine as false in theory, as in practice; all the subjects of a state are equally free, who are bound by the same laws framed by persons elected by themselves, and to which the framers are equally subject with the rest of the community; in such sense the Irish Romanists are intitled to liberty, and are free; but if you mean to assert, that Irish Romanists are as well intitled to the legislative and executive capacities as the king to his crown, by asserting that they have the same title to liberty as the king to the sovereignty, making civil liberty to consist in the enjoyment of the legislative and executive capacities, and slavery in the deprivation of them, though such deprivation be demanded by the safety of the state; such your dogma is false and sophistical, and cannot be supported on any ground of reason or civil policy, nor have you offered any one reason to support it. Your rant about *destroying all distinctions in religion, and the miserable alliance of the king with priestcraft, a falling cause, a superannuated folly*, you have stolen, as you have many others, from your masters Tom Chubb and Tom Paine; this is the plain English of it,

let all religious distinctions be abolished (that is all religion; for as long as any religion shall remain, and there shall be different sects of Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans in the world, there will be distinctions in religion.) *Let his majesty slight and violate his coronation oath, I will absolve him from it! I am the pope of Anti Christ! That oath contains the following clause: "I will to the utmost of my power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law," That oath allies the king to the Protestant religion, the Protestant religion is priestcraft! it is a falling cause! it is superannuated folly!* In such impious rants, purloined from the workshops of the soap-boiler and the stay-maker, you have the intrepid impudence to address the Protestant electors of the city of Dublin, who have just scouted you from their representation for your apostacy! And may such desperate renegadoes from the religion and constitution of their country, never again impose themselves by hypocritical frothy effusions of mock patriotism, on the too easy credulity, and on the bounty, of their honest christian Protestant countrymen!

Your next argument in favour of the Romish claim to the legislative and executive capacities is, "That the Irish Romanists had contributed greatly to the expences of the war, and had bled profusely therein." This argument requires examination. The public debt of the state of Ireland amounts to something more than seven millions sterling; this debt has not been all contracted since the commencement of the war; when it was proposed in the Irish House of Commons to reduce the hearth-money tax, about seven years since, calculations were laid before the house, made from the books of the hearth-money collectors, tending to prove, that there were about two millions of inhabitants in this kingdom, who from their poverty could not pay this tax, amounting only to four-pence in the year each, without the greatest hardship; of these two millions six parts out of seven were Romanists. I have already shewn that of the mass of real and personal property of this kingdom nineteen out of twenty parts are in the hands of Protestants, and four fifths of the

Mr. Grattan's argument drawn from the contribution of Romanists to the expences of the war, and their service in the fleets and armies, examined and refuted.

Irish

Irish Romanists pay no tax whatsoever, being freed from the hearth-tax, so that all public taxes must be paid by the Protestants, and about one-fifth of the Romanists; and on fair calculation the public taxes, estimated by the numbers and abilities of the inhabitants to pay, will be found to be chiefly paid by the Irish Protestants. Ireland has maintained no fleet for the prosecution of the war, and her whole annual contributions to the expence of a war, in which the Empire is engaged not for conquest, but salvation, do not amount to one-tenth part of the annual expenditure; nine-parts out of ten at least of the annual expence being defrayed by Great Britain; and of this tenth nineteen parts out of twenty are paid by Irish Protestants, and in return for the pittance which Romanists have contributed to the expences of the war, they have shared the benefit of an increased trade, growing out of the ruin of that of the enemy; the annual exports of linen in particular, the staple manufacture of the nation, having been almost doubled during the war, the same manufacture in Holland and the Netherlands, being annihilated by that calamity. But supposing the Romish subjects of this nation, bore an equal portion of the public burthens imposed for the support of the war with their Protestant fellow subjects, are they not fully repaid by the protection and security afforded them by a government whose very basis is civil liberty? Is not every subject bound to support with his life and his property that government which secures to him the enjoyment of his life and property? And does the pitiful contribution to the public burthens which can be extracted from the poverty of the Irish Romanists, to be employed in defraying the expence necessarily disbursed on his own protection, which he is obliged by law to pay, and is not a voluntary contribution, give him a title to the legislative capacity in a state, the supremacy of whose laws for internal regulation he makes it a point of conscience to disclaim? Such political anomalies can be suggested only by a head, distracted by the aches of disappointed avarice and ambition; and a heart labouring with the throes of sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion!

The other support of the claim of Irish Romanists to the legislative and executive capacities which you urge, to wit, *that they have bled profusely in the war*, will be found, on examination, to be equally weak with that of contribution to the expences. Thank heaven! Britons have not bled profusely in this war, they have experienced no defeats, they have uniformly, when engaged, triumphed over their enemies; some blood they have lost, but let us see what proportion of that was drained from the veins of Irish Romanists, fighting under the banners of the British empire. The navy is manned, and the army composed of the subjects of the empire indiscriminately, and in respect to the navy, as the relative number of British seamen in proportion to the inhabitants of Great Britain exceeds the relative number of Irish seamen in proportion to the inhabitants of Ireland, the shipping of Great Britain exceeding the shipping of Ireland in a much greater ratio than the number of the inhabitants of the former exceeds that of the latter, the number of British seamen employed in the navy, must exceed the number of Irish seamen employed in that service, in nearly the same ratio: I have already proved from the proportion of the surface of Great Britain to that of Ireland (supposing the population of both kingdoms to be in exact proportion to their respective surfaces) that the number of inhabitants of Britain exceed the number of inhabitants of Ireland in the proportion of seven to two, and that nearly all the inhabitants of Britain and one third of the inhabitants of Ireland are Protestants, so that the gross proportion of Protestant inhabitants in the British islands to the Romish inhabitants on that supposition, is nearly as six to one: from such calculation, it plainly follows, that the proportion of Protestants serving in the navy, to Romanists in the same service, is as eight, if not nine or ten to one; and in the army as six to one; it is notorious, that all the officers and soldiers enter into the army, as into a profession, by which they hope to obtain an honourable livelihood, and that not one in ten thousand becomes a soldier, from the mere principle of serving his country; they are paid for their
 service

service by their country, which counts on their gratitude for being so paid and employed ; the same may be said of the seamen and marines : The soldier and the mariner are the obliged parties ; and not the country, or the government that employs them : how then does it follow from a comparatively small portion of the army and navy being composed of Irish Romanists, paid by the state for their services, that they, professing principles as points of faith, subversive of the supremacy and constitution of the state, have a right to legislative and executive capacities in the state ? It is also to be observed, that all the officers of the navy and in the army serving in Great Britain are Protestants, and must be so, by the laws there in force ; and that almost all the officers serving in the Irish army are also Protestants. Some Romish officers have lately obtained commissions in the Irish army ; they were Irish gentlemen, who being, by the popery laws now repealed, disqualified to serve in the armies of the British Empire, accepted of commissions in the armies of France, whilst its government was monarchical : the French monarchy being overturned, they no longer thought themselves bound to serve in the French armies ; they had originally engaged to serve a monarch, and they disdained to serve the gang of assassins who had usurped the government of that country ; they were soldiers of fortune, and had no subsistence, save what they could procure by their swords : yet with great spirit and honour they abandoned the armies of France, and attached themselves to those of the coalesced powers, in which they served with signal bravery, under every disadvantage of penury and distress ; their country viewed their conduct and situation with admiration and compassion ; though they had long served in the ranks of her natural enemy, their sufferings and their merit awoke her parental affection for them, she pardoned their past transgressions, took them to her bosom, and gave them employment in her armies, in which many of them have fallen, bravely fighting for their king and country, deserving of better fate, and the remainder serve with distinguished honour, fidelity, courage and ability ; but the claim of Irish Romanists,

ists, to the legislative and executive capacities, cannot be supported on the gratitude of the state to these gentlemen for their services; every body must see that the weight of the obligation lies on their side.

You state, sir, that to your measure, which you with so much fraud stile the emancipation of the Catholics, it was objected, "that it was irreconcilable with the safety of the king." I do not recollect that any such objection was made to it; but to this objection of your own making, you insert the following answer as petulant as it is fraudulent, "That the capacities of three-fourths of the people should not be made a personal compliment to his majesty:" Your insolence in dragging in the name of his majesty on all occasions, that you may take opportunities of avowing your hostility to monarchy in a contemptuous manner, is too obvious to be overlooked. The fraud of your answer consists in your magnifying the relative number of Irish Romanists, and insinuating, that the rejection of their claim to the legislative and executive capacities, first started and pursued by you, is founded on the gratification of the mere whim and caprice of his majesty, and thereby endeavouring to foster and encourage their republican opinions, by inspiring them with a personal dislike to their sovereign; the reasons I have before stated were urged against your measure of emancipation, and it was asserted, and truly, that such a measure would weaken, if not subvert, the Protestant establishment of Ireland, and that his majesty could never consent to such a measure, because his consent would be a violation of his coronation oath, by which he swore *he would to the utmost of his power maintain the Protestant reformed religion as established by law*; but it never was asserted or admitted, either in debate or otherwise, that the Irish Romanists would be able to endanger his majesty's safety by a rebellion, in case his majesty should refuse his consent to such a measure; it was indeed asserted, that such a rebellion, (which was repeatedly threatened by you,) would be attended by their own ruin and destruction, as was the case in former Irish rebellions. You state, and for once you state truly, that it was objected to such a measure, "that
 " it

" it was irreconcilable to the connexion of Ireland with
 " England," and your answer to this objection is the essence
 of deception and sedition ; it is thus, " Such argument is of
 " a dangerous and insulting nature, for it amounts to a de-
 " claration, that the privileges of a vast portion of a nation
 " should be sacrificed to another country, that it was not the
 " old internal question, whether the privileges of one part
 " of Ireland should be sacrificed to the ambition of the other,
 " but whether a vast description of the people of Ireland
 " should be sacrificed to England ;" you then proceed to state
 the following case : " Suppose Ireland the seat of government,
 " and that for the better securing the safety of the king here
 " resident, and the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland,
 " that the Irish should incapacitate all the Protestants of
 " England, the same affection which England on that sup-
 " position would afford to the Irish, the same affection has
 " she now a right to expect from Ireland." Before I com-
 ment on the venom of this answer, I shall expose its sophistry
 and inanity ; it is entirely founded on the assumption of the
 following proposition, that the connexion of the two coun-
 tries, is solely for the advantage of Great Britain, and not
 for the advantage of Ireland. This proposition has been
 maintained by all the Romish orators at the assembly of the
popular and energetic Romanists at Francis-street chapel be-
 fore-mentioned, particularly by Keogh and M'Neven, two of
 your Romish committee ; they indeed went a little further,
 and stated, that the connexion was destructive to Ireland :
 yet no proposition can be falser in fact ; the connexion be-
 tween the two countries is highly advantageous to both, they
 are each parts of one and the same empire, and as the limbs
 derive life and vigour from the trunk in the human frame,
 and as its dismemberment tends to its dissolution, and the
 separated limbs lose all animation before the trunk, the case
 is precisely the same in States and Empires. If Ireland
 should be separated from Great Britain, the destruction of
 Ireland as an independent nation, must precede that of Great
 Britain. Great Britain might perhaps be able to support her-
 self in an independent state, though Ireland should be torn
 from

Connexion
 of England
 and Ireland
 highly ad-
 vantageous
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 more partic-
 ularly to
 Ireland.

from her, Ireland never could ; there is no man, who considers the present state of Europe, but must admit, that Ireland could not by her own strength sever herself from Britain, she must be indebted to a foreign nation for effecting such a revolution, if at all practicable ; and she must constantly increase that debt to maintain the revolution, until the debt equalled her full value, then she would become the property of the mortgagee, and be reduced to slavery for the satisfaction of the debt. Let us now compare the situation of Ireland connected with Great Britain, with her situation, if severed from it. At present, as one of the French conventionists stated, the marine has made Europe the mistress of the world, and Great Britain the mistress of Europe. Ireland under the protection of the invincible British navy, and without being at the expence of a single ship of War, exports her manufactures to all parts of the earth, accessible to ships, she has the full advantage of the trade of the British colonies and fisheries, she is protected by the same means from all invasion of foreign enemies, and in the midst of a war, which has ruined and desolated the finest parts of Europe, she has extended her trade, and manufactures ; and if undisturbed by domestic traitors and incendiaries, would have remained in a state of the most perfect internal tranquility and prosperity ; at the same time her public burthens, if estimated by her ability and security, and compared with those of other countries, and even, of part of the British Empire, are insignificant.

But what would be the situation of Ireland, if severed from Great Britain, and on the supposition that she was able to support herself as an independent state, which I have already shewn is impracticable ; she would in such case lose the protection of the British navy, she must either create a navy at a great public expence, or her foreign trade, without which, being an island comparatively small, she could not subsist, must be at the mercy of every other maritime state ; and such is the limited nature of her resources, that she never could hope, in any degree of probable prosperity, to be able to maintain a navy capable of coping with the navies of the great maritime powers of Europe, and scarcely with the
smaller

smaller ones, or with the Barbary pirates : consequently she must be obliged always to crouch beneath the dominion, insults, and oppression, of such states, and her trade must be burthened with taxes and impositions equal to the support of a navy ; she would be excluded from the whole trade of the British West Indian colonies, and from the fisheries of Newfoundland, and the Gulph of St. Lawrence : her manufactures, which by the late regulations in the East India trade, found their way to the East, would lose that mart ; her Baltick trade, whence alone she could be supplied with naval stores, particularly timber, of which she has not now of her own growth, sufficient to build a wherry, would be interrupted and cut off at the pleasure of Great Britain, and her channel trade would lie under the same disadvantage ; in the event of a war between her and Great Britain (which must frequently happen, if our demagogues are to be credited, who assert that the commercial interests of the two countries are incompatible) all her Eastern ports must be closed, and her foreign commerce annihilated, from Derry to Kinsale ; it is evident that internal poverty, misery, desolation, and subjugation to the horrible tyranny of the French assassins would in the end be the inevitable fate of Ireland, if separated from the British Empire ; and I console myself and my countrymen on the impracticability of the scheme, even though the execution of it should be undertaken by you, sir, and your associates. The argument however against your emancipation measure, as you call it, that it is *irreconcilable to the connexion of England and Ireland*, does not amount to a declaration, that the privileges of a vast or of any portion of the inhabitants of Ireland are to be sacrificed to the interests of another country, as you stile Great Britain ; or as you more emphatically state it, *that a vast description of the people of Ireland should be sacrificed to England* ; but it does amount to a declaration, that the Protestants of Ireland, one full third of the inhabitants in number, and nineteen parts out of twenty in energy, power, and property, do conceive, that the grant of the legislative and higher executive capacities to the other two thirds, who hold principles, as articles of faith, subver-

five of the constitution of the British Empire, of which Ireland is but a part, would be highly prejudicial to the interests, not of Great Britain alone, but of Ireland also, and would be irreconcilable to the connexion between the two countries, in as much as it would tend to subvert that constitution in Ireland, which is and ought to be, the common constitution of the two countries, and to loose and slacken the bands of that connexion on which depends not only the prosperity of Ireland, but its salvation ; and which connexion it is more the interest of Ireland to preserve indissoluble, than it is of Great Britain, though its preservation is the interest of both ; and in as much also as the Romanists of Ireland amount to about a sixth part only of the European population of the British Empire, and possess not one hundredth part of its strength and energy, and therefore cannot upon any grounds either of reason or civil policy claim such capacities. Another argument to prove that such emancipation would injure the connexion of the two countries, which has been often urged against you, and which you have never answered, is, that the standing committee of the Irish Romanists, whom you constantly state to be the legitimate representatives of the whole Romanists of Ireland, and to whose orders and directions a very great portion of the Irish Romanists have in fact regularly submitted, and who are the persons whom you stile the *popular and energetic part of that communion*, with whom alone of all that body you have any connexion, and who are your organs with that body, have publicly and solemnly declared their inveterate and rancorous hostility against the connexion of England and Ireland ; and their determined purpose to attempt a separation of the two countries, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, whenever they shall have an opportunity. See their speeches in Francis-street chapel, published by the authority of this committee, and other their daily publications in the Romish journals.

This case, sir, you have put by no means applies to the arguments used against your emancipation scheme, when fairly explained : To place the exclusion of the Irish Roman-

ists from the legislative and higher executive capacities in Ireland (which you suppose, contrary to fact, to be effected by the English Protestants when it is really effected by the Irish Protestants) in a ridiculous light, you put your case to shew, that it would be as reasonable for the Irish Romanists, if the King was resident in Ireland, to incapacitate all the English Protestants, as for the English Protestants, the King residing in England, to incapacitate the Irish Romanists. In the first place your case is built on a falsity, to wit, that the English Protestants have incapacitated the Irish Romanists; if called upon, they would, as good subjects, assist the Irish Protestants in extinguishing the flames of rebellion, if they should blaze forth in Ireland on the score of this incapacity, because in so doing they would only support the general constitution of the British Empire; but supposing the situation of affairs both in Great Britain and Ireland to be as you have stated, I shall examine the justice of your application of the case. The whole inhabitants of Great Britain may be said to be Protestants, for the Romanists among them are so few in number, not being one in two or three hundred, that they may be reputed, what the Mathematicians call, an evanescent quantity; the inhabitants are four times more numerous than those of Ireland, and of the inhabitants of Ireland, two-thirds only are Romanists; the rest are Protestants: to preserve any degree of consistency in your case, you must suppose the Monarch of the British Islands, resident in Ireland to be a Romanist, and the established religion to be Romish; you then suppose the Irish Romanists, not one-sixth of the inhabitants of the British islands, able to incapacitate the whole inhabitants of the island of Great Britain! And you state expressly, "*that you were justified in making these suppositions;*" your deduction from it is, "*that Ireland is not bound to afford greater affection to England now, than England would be bound to afford to her on the supposition of the reality of such case,*" or in plain English, that the Romish inhabitants of Ireland are now bound to hate and detest the inhabitants of Great Britain, as much as the inhabitants of the latter, would be bound to hate and detest the

the

the inhabitants of the former, if your case was real; but your case, sir, will not justify your deduction, because it is more consonant to the rules of justice to incapacitate a portion of the inhabitants of one nation part of a great Empire, about one-sixth part of the inhabitants of that Empire, if their principles are hostile to the general constitution, than all the inhabitants of another nation part of the same Empire, near four times larger than the nation whose inhabitants are partially incapacitated, and at least fifty times more powerful; and therefore the Irish Romanists, in the present state of affairs, have less right to complain of their incapacity, than the whole inhabitants of Great Britain would have, in the case you suppose, and consequently their degree of resentment against those who incapacitated them should be less; but in truth, sir, your whole argument, and your case compose one heap of most extravagant absurdity; you attempt to establish by studied falsehood, deception, sophistry, and improbable fictions, the monstrous doctrine, that the state is guilty of oppression, in excluding from the legislative and higher executive capacities, a class of subjects, scarce amounting in number to a sixth part of the whole; and in power and property, when compared with their fellow subjects, inconsiderable; whose avowed principles are hostile to the established constitution both in church and state.

But notwithstanding the general flimsiness and absurdity of your arguments, which you endeavour at the same time to disguise and prop, by assuming a kind of dogmatic importance, they are sufficiently supplied with venom and malignity; the flaver and spume of a toad are not the less poisonous, because they are frothy; and in this last argument your malicious purpose of animating the Irish Romanists against their Protestant fellow subjects, Irish as well as English, is eminently prominent. You state that the old internal question in this kingdom was, whether the privileges of one part of Ireland should be sacrificed to another, intimating that the privileges of the Irish Romanists have been always heretofore sacrificed to the ambition of Irish Protestants; but that now the question is, whether a vast description of

the people of Ireland should be sacrificed to England, and that such question is of an insulting nature, and that it is England which incapacitates the Irish Romanists: Where you mention the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, you assert that the nation is under a *foreign yoke*, that is, that England, as to Ireland, is a *foreign nation*, and where you advise the Irish who are rich and great, so soon as an insurrection shall break out in Ireland, to join the insurgents, whom you call the country, you mention the court of England, that is the court of the Empire, as a *remote court*, as the court of a *foreign prince*: at the very time you wrote these inflammatory paragraphs, to create and aggravate national animosities, in support of the joint plan of separation of yourself and your colleague Tone, no man knew better than yourself that they were all false; you well know that the incapacities of the Irish Romanists were the work of the Irish Protestants for their own protection, and not of the English; you well know that the several acts passed in Ireland these twenty years last past for repealing the popery laws, and particularly the act of the year 1793, would never have passed the Irish House of Commons had not the interest of government, and in fact what is called the English interest, joined the party in the House, which supported these acts of repeal: when you stile Great Britain a foreign nation, and the court of St. James's a foreign court, you seem to forget, or at least to overlook, the acts of the Irish parliament, declaring Ireland to be inseparably annexed to, and dependent on, the imperial crown of Great Britain; and the acts enjoining the oath of supremacy to be taken in Ireland, the words of which oath are, "that no *foreign prince*, prelate, "state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, "power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesi- "astical or spiritual, within this realm;" and that if Great Britain be a foreign country, and the king of it consequently a foreign prince, the Irish Protestants by that oath abjure the ecclesiastical authority of his majesty, in direct defiance of our own laws and statutes. But you are so set upon the execution of your plan, to separate the two nations, that you

you abandon all pretence to truth and candour in the pursuit, you run head-long into all kinds of absurdity; and are consistent in one point only, that is, in an inveterate hostility against the constitution of your country in church and state.

A gentleman of learning and ability, lately in a pamphlet entitled, "Some Observations on a late Address to the Citizens of Dublin," exposed with equal spirit and truth many of your absurdities, and many of your falsehoods, contained in this your address. He has proved to a demonstration, that the present disturbances in this country did not arise from the influence of the British cabinet, from attempts of the minister to subvert the parliamentary constitution by the influence of the crown; nor from the treatment of his majesty's Catholic subjects as asserted by you; and he has detected and exposed your ignorance, and your malice, in your account of what you stile with such classic elegance (allowing your attic companions, friars O'Leary and Hussy to be classics) the *birth* of the borough *inundation*. There are however some points in which I cannot agree with this writer, and as they are points on which much of the public tranquillity depends, and as I esteem the author to be a friend to the constitution, whose authority must have considerable weight, I deem it necessary here to examine his arguments on these points, and explain my reasons for dissenting from him; not as his political antagonist, but as a friend to the constitution also, who when he differs in opinion from any other of its supporters, and particularly from a person of so much ability as the writer, deems it a compliment due to him, to lay before him, and the public, the ground of his opinion.

He states, "that eligibility to certain great offices of the state, and seats in the legislature, (that is the legislative and higher executive capacities) have been withheld from Roman Catholic gentlemen, but not from the lower orders of that communion, because it is morally impossible for men in their rank of life, to attain such situations: that such ineligibility is calculated to wound a very natural pride in Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, and to create amongst them a well warranted discontent; that

Remarks on a pamphlet, entitled, "Some Observations on a late Address to the Citizens of Dublin."

“ that it is a species of stigma that must be galling to men
 “ of birth and property, that such discontent does reign
 “ amongst the aristocracy of the Roman Catholic commu-
 “ nion, that it is to be regretted when in 1793 (the Era of
 “ the passing of the last act for the relief of Irish Roman-
 “ ists) the political principle, which could alone justify Ro-
 “ man Catholic political exclusion, was *totally given up*, that
 “ any of those political exclusions should be suffered to re-
 “ main, it was preserving the hardship, and at the same
 “ time acknowledging the injustice of imposing it; and then
 “ he concludes, that there is no man who has the capacity
 “ of observing and reflecting, who has watched the progress
 “ of opinion, who has seen the change that within the last
 “ three years has in this country, taken place in the Protec-
 “ tant mind, and the effects upon the understandings of all
 “ men produced by the present most extraordinary and
 “ eventful times, that must not be in his conscience con-
 “ vinced, that the period cannot be distant, nay, that it
 “ must be very near, when all heart-burnings and dissensions
 “ upon this remaining branch of a question, that in all its
 “ various parts, has so long agitated the country, shall be
 “ for ever laid asleep, by the arrival of that happy day for
 “ Ireland, when all her sons shall form but one people, and
 “ the Protestant shall know of no difference between him
 “ and the Catholic, the Catholic know of none between
 “ him and the Protestant, save only *that it is at different al-*
 “ *tars, that they worship the same God.*” Thus, sir, this au-
 thor, though he proves that the rejection of the measure of
 Catholic emancipation, as you call it, has not been one of
 the causes of the present distracted state of the country, yet
 admits, that it is a measure which very speedily will be adopt-
 ed; and that the legislative, and higher executive capacities,
 will be immediately conceded to the Irish Romanists, in as
 full an extent as you can possibly contend for; his reasons
 briefly are, first, that all which has been done for the Irish
 Romanists by the repeal of the popery laws has operated in
 favour of the democracy of that communion, who have not
 merited it so much as the aristocracy; and that it is reason-
 able,

able, that something should be done for the Romish aristocracy, who have good cause to be discontented with their present situation. And, secondly, that a great change has happened in the minds of Protestants in favour of those claims of the Irish Romanists within these three years last past. To the first reason I object, that it seems to be advanced without sufficient consideration or information on the subject, for if the laws enacted in favour of the Irish Romanists for these twenty years last past are examined, it will be found, that almost the whole benefit of them falls to the share of the Romish aristocracy, and not democracy. The only benefit which the democracy of that communion has acquired by these laws is, that the poor Romish farmers, or inhabitants of a corporate town, may become voters at elections for members of parliament, and obtain leases of land or houses for lives, or for a longer term than thirty one years; the right of voting at elections for members of parliament seems to be of little value to a poor Romish forty shilling freeholder; and to poor persons the difference between the value of a lease for thirty one years, and a lease for lives or a longer term, does not seem to be very considerable, as their poverty disables them from paying fines, and therefore they generally pay the full value of the land for rent, and the same cause prevents them from making valuable improvements. But the Romish aristocracy, amongst which I count wealthy men able to purchase estates, have gained very great advantages by the repeal of the popery laws, such as have estates can retain, and such as have money can acquire and retain, their estates without impending ruin from bills of discovery, gavel laws, profligacy and plunder of their conforming children. The magistracy, and all the offices of the state, including army and revenue, are laid open to them (about two and thirty places excepted) a college is erected and endowed by the state for the education of their children, and the University of Dublin is opened to them for the same purpose; they are put completely on a footing with all the other subjects of the state, in respect to all privileges except the legislative and higher executive capacities;

capacities; the first argument therefore of this author for emancipation, is not as I conceive founded on fact, and therefore has but little weight with me; his second argument, from the change in the minds of Protestants in favour of the claims of Romanists within these three years last past, I confess surprises me: I never heard, nor can I find from my own experience, that any such change has been effected, nor can I conceive, that any such change in the Protestant mind ever will be effected, until Romanists shall consent to take the test, the rejection of which by them is the sole cause of their present incapacity; I conceive myself (perhaps erroneously) to be a man who has the capacity of observing and reflecting; I have watched the progress of political opinions, and I never perceived the minds of real Irish Protestants to be changed in favour of the claims of the Romanists to the legislative and higher executive capacities; I never heard any real Irish Protestant maintain the paradox, that it was for the benefit of the state to intrust the functions of framing laws and executing them, to a class of people, who hold it an article of their faith, that the state has but a partial authority to bind them by the laws it enacts, and consequently that they are in conscience bound, not only to decline all active obedience to many of these laws, but to give them all kind of active resistance; some persons indeed who usurp the title of Protestants, but are in truth infidels, disciples of Paine, Price, and Priestley, and determined republicans, as I have already observed, do support such a dogma, because they think, and justly, that the propagation of such an opinion amongst the subjects, weakens the state, and assists their projects of subversion, which must commence with anarchy; and the bitter lamentations in the seditious prints for the want of what the republicans call public spirit, shew that such persons are not sufficiently numerous or powerful to overturn the state. This writer observes, "that at the time
 " of passing the last act for the relief of Irish Romanists,
 " the political principle which could alone justify Roman Ca-
 " tholic political exclusion, was *totally* given up." I wish he had particularly mentioned the political principle, which he
 suppose

supposed then to have been totally given up : Romanists, under certain qualifications, were by that act, enabled to vote at elections of members of parliament ; the principle which excluded Romanists from that privilege was then given up, but the principle which excluded Romanists from the legislative and higher executive capacities, was so far from being then totally, or at all, given up, that it is particularly preserved and avowed by the bill, as the author may see by perusing it ; and consequently no injustice, as he supposes, is acknowledged by the bill in preserving this exclusion ; on the contrary, it is defensible by every rule of reason, justice and political expediency. This author also admits, that what you, sir, call the influence of the English cabinet is in some degree a grievance in Ireland, and calls for redress ; and he also concedes the expediency and justice, if not the necessity, of some reform in the representation of the people in parliament ; asserting however, that in the present crisis, the attempt to reform would be dangerous, and should be postponed to a happier period ; and I confess, it somewhat surprised and chagrined me, to find, that a man, who had with so much ability detected, exposed, and chastised, your falsehoods, your misrepresentations, your ignorance, and arrogance, in many parts of your address, should thus unaccountably agree with you in the necessity of the application of your three proposed remedies for the disorders of the state, and in the sanative qualities of the ingredients of each, particularly of the first, your emancipation measure, in the fullest extent ; and in respect to the two others, the extinction of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, and the reform of parliament, with considerable modifications ; as I differ from this writer in my opinions on the three points, and have already given my reasons against the emancipation measure, I trust I shall be able in my animadversions on your reform measure, satisfactorily to prove that what you call the influence of the English cabinet, must and ought to continue in Ireland, as long as Great Britain and Ireland shall form one empire, and monarchy shall remain an integral part of our constitution ; and that the laws of the

land

land furnished with a few auxiliary provisions, can afford effectual remedies for any abuses which may from time to time creep into the constitutional mode of election of the representatives of the people in parliament; that no further reform is necessary, and that your project of reform, as brought forward in parliament by you and your friends, is but the prelude of the projected subversion of the constitution, and the substitution of a democratic republic in its room, like the cisalpine republic under the protection of France, that is its vassal: and that it is the first act only of the tragedy of separation, composed by you and your colleague Tone, now in rehearsal by your popular and energetic Romaniſts, and United Irishmen, to be performed on the Irish stage, if the necessary and suitable decorations, dresses, and attendants, to wit, cannon, mortars, musquets, bayonets, pikes, swords, daggers, powder, ball, bombs, and French assassins, can be procured.

Remarks
on Mr.
Grattan's
account of
the creation
of boroughs

It is necessary however, before I state the plan of reform, proposed and supported by you and your friends in parliament, to make a few remarks on what you so elegantly stile the *birth of the borough inundation* in Ireland; your ravings on this head might excite pity, if falsehood and malignant misrepresentation did not appear in every line, chequered with your frenzy: thus you declaim with all the fury of a maniac, mixed with all the falsehood and rancour of a fiend: “ Examination into the subject had shewn that the greater
“ part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of
“ Stuart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subvert-
“ ing the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, that these
“ were understated, when called abuses in the constitution,
“ that they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and
“ wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations on the constitu-
“ tion by kings, whose family lost the throne, for crimes
“ less deadly to freedom, and who in their star-chamber
“ tyranny, in ^{la} their court of high commission, in their ship-
“ money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an
“ act so *diabolical* in intention, so *mortal* in principle, or so
“ radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm,

“ as

“ as the *fabrication* of boroughs, which is the *fabrication* of
 “ a court parliament, and the exclusion of a constitutional
 “ commons; which is a subversion, not of the fundamental
 “ laws, but of the constitutional lawgiver; the *birth* of the
 “ *borough inundation* was the destruction of liberty and pro-
 “ perty; James the first, the king who *made* (*why did you*
 “ *not say begot,*) that inundation, by that means destroyed
 “ the titles of his Irish *subjects* to their lands, without the
 “ least ceremony—the robbery of *his* liberty was immediate-
 “ ly followed by robbery of *his* property (*that is the robbery*
 “ *of the king's liberty was immediately followed by robbery of the*
 “ *king's property.*)

“ The king had another instrument more subtile and more
 “ pliable than the sword—and against the liberty of the sub-
 “ ject more cold and deadly, a court instrument that mur-
 “ ders freedom without the mark of blood—palls itself in
 “ the covering of the constitution, and in her own *colours*,
 “ and in her name plants the dagger, a *borough parliament*.”
 You then proceed with your rancorous and false invective on
 the renowned Earl of Strafford, which as it has been already
 animadverted upon, I shall take no further notice of here.

I shall omit all comment on the absurdity of your figures,
 and your notorious ignorance of grammar, displayed in this
 rant; but it must not escape reprehension, as a heap of di-
 abolical (to use your own phrase) falsehood, and misrepresen-
 tation. It is an absolute falsehood, that the king *robbed*
 (to use your own courtly phrase) any of his Irish subjects of
 their lands, or destroyed their titles to their lands, by any
 acts of what you call a borough parliament; the title of the
 crown to lands of which any Irish subjects were dispossessed
 in the reign of James the first, was founded on the *forfeitures*
 of the Irish rebels, in the two great rebellions of Des-
 mond and Tyrone, or on the rules of lawful descent and in-
 heritance, according to the usual course of the common law
 of Ireland, and not upon statute law or acts of parliament;
 and in this all historical accounts of these times, worthy of
 that title, agree; it was indeed complained of in those times,
 that very long possession of Irish landholders and their ances-
 tors

tors gave them no title to the lands so held against very old titles to the same lands set up by the crown, founded on the maxim of the common law, of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*: and the titles of several persons to lands were defeated on legal proof of such old titles by the due course of the old common law of the land, and not by act of parliament, and the titles of more were threatened to be questioned; but in most of such cases, where forfeiture for treason was out of the question, the old possessor had the land, or a very large portion of it, restored to his possession, on his agreeing to pay a small rent to the crown, and on very moderate terms of composition; and in the case of forfeiture for treason also, the old Irish possessor had a great share of his lands restored to him on like moderate terms, see Carte's Ormond, 1st book, Morrifon, Pacata Hibernia, Sir John Davis, Hume, &c. so that here, sir, you are guilty of asserting two direct falsehoods, one that James the first destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands without the least ceremony, meaning without process of law, and contrary to justice; and the second, that he did so, or in your phrase that he thus *robbed* them, by the means, or by the agency, of a borough parliament. The following remark on this part of your address I have borrowed from a pamphlet lately published, signed *Vindicator*, a judicious performance, a large extract from which I shall insert as a complete refutation of your equally frantic and wicked declamation, respecting what you call the borough inundation, because every thing the writer asserts is founded on incontrovertible evidence quoted by him, and which evidence I have carefully examined. The only parliament, says *Vindicator*, which sat in Ireland during the whole reign of James the first, and after his creation of forty boroughs, sat for three short sessions only, the first for twenty-eight days, the second and third sessions for only twenty days each, in all something more than two months—they passed ten statutes, they are in the first volume of the printed statutes, they neither confiscated the property of any of James's Irish subjects themselves, nor conferred on the crown any powers to enable the king so to do; and James, so far from

from making a court instrument of the Irish parliament, never called another during the remainder of his reign.

Now, sir, I shall proceed to expose the infamy and malice of your misrepresentations of the whole of the transaction of the creation of boroughs by king James the first, and of his motives for that creation. Ireland was possessed for several ages by the kings of England, under the stile of lords, and from the time of Henry the eighth, of kings of Ireland; but whatever stile they used, they enjoyed not so much the reality as the name of dominion in it, for the heads of the Irish septs never obeyed them, but as they liked, and the body of the people were governed entirely by the Brehon law, and followed the Irish customs; the English laws indeed were introduced, but were observed only in the English colony, and prevailed no where but in the counties near Dublin, after the rebellion of sir Caher O'Dogherty was quelled in the reign of James the first, and the rebellion meditated by the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel prevented, the king, to settle the kingdom in tranquillity, to improve the country, and give all ranks and orders of men a full assurance of the quiet enjoyment of their liberty and property, took care to have the customs of tanistry and gavel kind condemned by judgment in the King's Bench; and utterly abolished the Brehon law in all its branches and usages; he extended to the aboriginal Irish all the privileges of subjects, and all the benefit of the English laws, which he took care to have duly executed without difference or distinction of persons, he increased the number of judges in his courts of law, he divided the whole kingdom into counties, he revived the circuits after two hundred years discontinuance in Munster, and instituted them in Connaught, and Ulster, and sent itinerant justices twice every year to hold assizes in every part of the nation for the due and regular administration of justice. Parliaments had from the reign of Edward the second been called from time to time in Ireland upon particular occasions, but they consisted of few members, the number of temporal peers was but small till the reign of Henry the eighth, and of these some were generally either in rebellion or did not care

to attend, and of the spiritual, such archbishops and bishops as were resident in mere Irish counties, and did not acknowledge the king for their patron, were never summoned to parliament; and as for the House of Commons it sometimes was composed only of the deputies of the four shires of the pale (Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth,) and writs were never sent any where but in shire ground inhabited by the English, who continued in obedience to the state, and in subjection to the English laws; for the aboriginal Irish in those days were never admitted, as well because their countries lying out of the limits of counties could send no knights, and having neither cities nor boroughs in them, could send no burgeses, to the parliament; as because they were deemed enemies, and unfit to be trusted in the great council of the realm, for before the thirty-fourth year of Henry the eighth, when Meath was divided into two shires, there were no more than twelve counties in Ireland (there were only eleven, *see thirty third Henry eighth, chapter 2.*) besides the liberty of Tipperary, and as the ancient cities were but four, and the boroughs which sent burgeses not above thirty, the entire body of the House of Commons could not then consist of one hundred persons; queen Mary indeed added two shires, reducing the counties of Leix and Offaley into counties, (the King's and Queen's counties) and erecting boroughs in them, whereby they were qualified to send knights and burgeses to parliament; and afterwards queen Elizabeth, in sir Henry Sidney's and sir John Perrott's times, erected fundry counties in Connaught and Ulster, yet no knights were ever sent from the remote parts of the latter province; the last parliament held in her time was called in the twenty-seventh year of her reign (it consisted of one hundred and twenty-two members, *see Rolls office*) and twenty-seven years of troublesome and unsettled times, had passed since without the summons of any; but king James having now settled Ireland in peace, divided the whole kingdom into counties, and erected forty new boroughs in the seventeen counties last appointed, resolved to call a general representation of the whole nation, in which all the inhabitants thereof whether of the old English extraction

or the new British colony, or the old Irish natives, should meet together to make laws for the common good of themselves and their posterity, *see Carte's Ormond, pages 11, 13, 18, and 19.*

The authority of the above account of this the first introduction amongst the whole inhabitants of Ireland as a nation, of a parliamentary constitution by king James the first, on the exact model of the English parliamentary constitution, does not rest solely on the authority of Mr. Carte, whose ability, industry, learning, and candour, entitle him to great credit; the statutes and records of the kingdom prove it beyond contradiction. In the statute of the 28th Henry sixth, chapter 2. A. D. 1450, only four counties are named as possessing the benefit of English laws, viz. Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Uriel or Louth,—and seventy-two years afterwards, A. D. 1522, in the 13th Henry eighth, chapter 3. are these remarkable words, “*because that right few persons within the four shires where the kings laws is occupied in this land.*”

A. D. 1570. in the 12th Elizabeth, chapter 3. the shires and towns then obeying the English laws, are enumerated, and they only amount to nine counties; and it is to be observed, that two of those, viz. the King and Queen's counties, had been a very short time created, and that the apparent addition of another county was owing to the division of Meath into two counties; thus from the year 1456 to the year 1570, a period of 120 years, only four counties were added to the original four counties of the Pale, which obeyed the English laws: It is true that in the 33d Henry the eighth, chapter 2. A. D. 1542, an act for the election of the Lord Justice, eleven counties are named, but it does not follow, that all those had the benefit of the English laws, or parliamentary constitution. These counties are named merely as the places of *residence* of the King's *Counsaillers*, who were to be assembled in case of the death of a Lieutenant, Deputy or Justice, in order to chuse another; some great Lords lived in Munster, who were certainly of the King's Council, yet into whose territories (for they were petty princes) the King's writ never ran, nor had the inhabitants in any shape the benefit of the
English

English laws. For though Munster had been long nominally divided into counties, yet sir John Davis observes, "The
 " people were so degenerate as no Justice of assize durst ex-
 " ecute his commission among them." Five of the counties
 named in this act, were situated in Munster, and certainly
 by the concurrent testimony of all the writers upon the an-
 cient state of Ireland, came under this description. This re-
 duces the number of counties named in this act, which had
 really the benefit of English laws, and parliamentary consti-
 tution, to six.

By the 34th Henry the 8th, chap. 1. Meath was divided
 into two counties, and the reason assigned for this division
 in the preamble of the act was, "That even in this ancient
 " county of the Pale in several parts thereof, the king's
 " writs, for lack of ministration of justice, have not of late
 " been obeyed, ne his graces lawes put in due exercise."
 This made the number of counties seven. Philip and Mary
 after added the king's and queep's counties, which increased
 the number to nine, and this is precisely the number men-
 tioned in the 12th Elizabeth, chap. 3. A. D. 1570. From
 this period no counties were made by act of parliament;
 but by the 11th Elizabeth, chapter 9. A. D. 1569, powers
 were given to the chancellor or keeper of the great seal for
 the time being, to award commissions for that purpose.
 This parliament of Elizabeth which conferred these powers
 was dissolved in 1571, and she never summoned more than
 one parliament after, which sat but a short time, being assem-
 bled 26th of April, 1685, prorogued 25th of May following;
 assembled again 26th of April, 1686, and dissolved 26th of
 May following. So that the act giving the power of creat-
 ing counties to the chancellor, &c. if carried into execution,
 could not be of much advantage to the parliamentary consti-
 tution during her reign; but in truth the intention of it ne-
 ver was compleatly fulfilled during her reign. Sir Henry
 Sydney, and after him Sir John Perrott, did endeavour to
 give effect to this act. The latter divided Ulster nominally
 into seven shires, but Sir John Davis observes, "The law
 " was never executed in these new counties, by any sheriffs

“ or justices of affize, but the people were left to be ruled
 “ still by their own barbarous lords and laws.” Thus a very
 small portion indeed of these new counties returned mem-
 bers to the only parliament which prior to the 13th of James
 the first had been called in Ireland for the space of 42 years ;
 that parliament summoned by James, and meeting in May,
 1613, being the first parliament called by James in Ireland.
 There is indeed irrefragable proof of this in the rolls office.
 The number of members who were summoned in the last
 parliament of Elizabeth in the 27th year of her reign, A. D.
 1585, was 122, the numbers summoned to James’s parlia-
 ment in 1613, amounted to 232, difference 110 : But James
 had created only fort. boroughs, which returned only eighty
 members, consequently thirty representatives for counties,
 that is the representatives of fifteen counties must have sat in
 James’s first parliament in 1613, which never before sat in
 parliament, and yet in the last preceding parliament of
 Elizabeth more counties were represented than at any for-
 mer period whatsoever : If James then created 40 boroughs
 to increase the borough representation, he must at the same
 time be allowed to have increased also the county represen-
 tation to a great degree, by adding to it the representation of
 many counties, which though nominally created before, had
 never before been actually represented : Thus it is notorious,
 that this first parliament of James the first, formed the very
 first parliamentary constitution, of which the *Irish nation*
 (contradistinguished from the English settlers) ever pos-
 sessed the smallest participation. This is a fact not only
 established by the concurrent testimony of every writer on
 the affairs of Ireland, but is put beyond the possibility of con-
 troversy by the acts of that very parliament : The 5th chap.
 of its statutes, contains a repeal of some very extraordinary
 acts, one so late as the 28th Henry 8th, another still later,
 the 11th of Elizabeth, whence it will clearly appear that this
 parliament was the first that ever sat in Ireland, which plac-
 ed the Irish nation on the same footing with the English set-
 tlers, which communicated to them the benefit of the Eng-
 lish laws, or suffered them to participate in the benefits of a

parliamentary constitution: and was the first parliament in which the whole nation was fairly represented; and this parliamentary constitution for the whole kingdom was the work of James the first, framed on the exact model of the English constitution, and for which the memory of that benevolent monarch deserves to be held in veneration by every inhabitant of Ireland from generation to generation, and which will, whilst history or records shall be extant, secure his character from the malicious attacks of envenomed traitors.

The motives of James the first, for the creation of 40 boroughs are plain and notorious; first and principally he designed to frame the parliamentary constitution of the *whole* kingdom of Ireland, of which he was the founder, on the exact model of that of England; he had in effect created fifteen new counties; because it appears from what has been already proved, that thirty representatives for counties sat in his first parliament which had not sat in the last of Elizabeth nor in any preceding parliament: in the counties which she had created in Connaught, the representatives of some of which might have sat in her last parliament, she could not have created many boroughs, if any at all; 122 members were summoned to her last parliament, in preceding parliaments the number summoned was about 100, so that she may be said to have increased the number of representatives by 22, she must therefore have created some boroughs, but not many, because she certainly did not summon the representatives of fifteen new counties, she summoned only the representatives of 17 counties in all, as James brought in the representatives of 15 counties never before represented, and the whole number of counties in the kingdom is but 32. In the parliament of the 12th of Elizabeth the representatives of nine counties only were summoned, in that of the 27th of her reign, her last parliament, the number of representatives exceeded that of the 12th of her reign by 22, yet 17 counties only were then represented, that is eight counties more than were represented in her former parliament, the representatives of which eight counties, amounted to 16; she must then have created three new boroughs before the sitting

fitting of her last parliament to compleat the number of 22 new representatives: Mr. Carte tells us that king James created these 40 boroughs in the 17 last created counties; now if king James had not created these 40 boroughs in the last 17 created counties, 15 of the counties represented in the last parliament of Elizabeth, that is less than one half of the kingdom, having all the then existing boroughs situated in them, would have returned 118 members of parliament, and the remaining seventeen counties, more than half of the kingdom, to wit, all Ulster, Connaught, and part of Munster, would have returned in the whole to parliament only 34 members; which would be so very unequal a representation, that it could not be alleged to have been framed on the English model; the real and personal property of the nation in general would not be fairly represented; the representatives of the old English colony would remain the representatives in fact of the whole nation, as their descendants were chiefly in possession of that part of the kingdom which would return 118 of the representatives; and the new English and Scotch settlers, and the great bulk of the native Irish inhabiting the 17 new counties, would in a manner be excluded from parliamentary representation, or deprived of all interest or influence in it, as their representatives in parliament would amount to 34 only. At the time James the first undertook the civilizing of this kingdom, and introducing into it, a regular government and constitution on the English model, three-fourths of it were nearly in as barbarous a state as the countries inhabited by the savages in North America; the native Irish resided in forests and morasses, their chiefs were elective, the barbarian who excelled in ferocity and strength, was always elected the head of the clan, or the sachem of the tribe; he led them out to war, always undertaken for the purpose of plundering a neighbouring tribe, or the English colonists; the district belonging to a tribe was parcelled out among them by the chief, or the sachem, in such proportions as he thought fit, and the partition was revocable at his pleasure, whilst he retained his power, which however was very precarious in its duration; a stronger and

fiercer savage generally ending his domination by the application of the skeyn or dagger; and on the election of a new chief, a new division of the district amongst the tribe took place; the portion occupied by the head of a family, on his death was divided amongst all his children, bastards included, who were considered on a level with the legitimate children; these family partitions were still subject to the general partitions amongst the tribe at the will of the chief, and at every succession of a chief. These modes of succession to the chieftry of a tribe, and of partition of lands, were the principal parts of the Brehon law, and were called Tanistry and Gavelkind; in truth this Brehon law, as it was called, was nothing more than a system of barbarous customs originating in savage life, and calculated for such a life only; it is, when examined, the system of that most enlightened modern philosopher Tom Paine the staymaker, which he styles, the Rights of Man. These savage Irish had no towns in their districts. English colonists had on some parts of the sea coasts built some towns for the advantage of commerce, which however they were obliged to fortify for their own protection; they did indeed sow some corn, as do the savages in North America, and on the crop, and their herds of cattle they subsisted; they were universally attached with the blindest bigotry to the Romish profession, yet set at nought all the moral precepts of christianity, and were christians more in name than reality; their ignorance was extreme, and if we are, sir, to believe your colleague Tone, in the account of Ireland which he lately drew up for the use of the French convention, to induce them to invade this country, the bulk of the Irish nation are not yet civilized; for in that account he describes the Irish peasantry as now in a *semibarbarous state*, and your *popular and energetic* Romanists the *United Irishmen*, by their recent most inhuman murders, have shown that your colleague's picture of them is a just one. Elizabeth had compleatly vanquished and subjugated these barbarians, and the benevolent James succeeding her, determined to bestow upon them a regular government, and to teach them the arts of civilized life; for this purpose he found

it necessary to introduce amongst them large colonies of English and Scotch settlers, an industrious and frugal race, skilled in agriculture and manufactures, they built towns, cut down forests, cultivated the lands, and established manufactures, trade, and commerce in this kingdom; they were all protestants, they were bred up in the principles of a free representative constitution; which though somewhat different in England and Scotland, yet in its leading principles was common to both countries; personal property by their means was infinitely increased in this kingdom, particularly in the seventeen newly created counties. It is the known principle of the British Constitution, founded on wisdom and justice, that personal property shall be represented in parliament, as well as real property. That constitution had vested the power of determining, what portion of the people should be permitted to vote for representatives of the personal property of the nation in parliament, in the crown, as part of the prerogative; that power from the reign of Henry the 3d down to that of William the 3d had been from time to time exercised by the crown, in granting charters of incorporation to certain towns according to its discretion, empowering the persons described in such charters to elect and send to parliament representatives of such towns, called boroughs; by the persons so elected is represented in parliament the bulk of the personal property of the nation, as that of the real property is represented in the House of Commons by the knights of the shires; and both real and personal property, by the representatives of cities and towns, which are at the same time both counties and corporations; as is the case in many places in this kingdom; justice, wisdom, the principles of the British constitution, all conspired with political expediency, in impelling James to give the same constitution to *all* Ireland, which had been for ages established throughout England, and partially in Ireland; that is in the English colony in Ireland, in which borough representation had been introduced very shortly after it had been established in England; civil liberty owed its very birth in England to the borough representation, all historians concur in attributing

ing to the creation of boroughs, the mitigation of the rigour of the feudal system, a military aristocratic domination, which reduced the bulk of the nation to the most abject slavery, the most degrading subjection, under the iron yoke of haughty tyrants, possessing almost the whole landed property of the country, and holding the mass of the people in vassalage and bondage: the borough representation broke the chains of this military tyranny, and established our present constitution, the perfection of reason, and at once the envy and admiration of all surrounding nations. The new Protestant colonists of James had been born under a free constitution, they did not deserve to lose it, by adventuring their lives and properties, by exerting their arts and their industry, in colonizing a savage country, for the advantage as well of their native country, as of that into which they had been transplanted; neither their lives, their properties, or their religion could be protected, without giving them a constitution similar to that under which they had been born; they had a right, an indefeasible right to it: James on his accession to the crown of England met with great opposition from the Romanists of Ireland, the old English colony was for the most part attached to the Romish persuasion, the barbarous Irish natives were all so; the inhabitants of many of the principal cities and towns flew to arms on his accession, and refused to acknowledge him; and did so afterwards, only on being compelled by a military force; in the parliament called by him after the creation of the 40 boroughs in 1613, there were 101 Romanists in direct opposition to him, and hostile, in the most inveterate degree, to his Protestant colonies; the elections, for knights of the shire for all the new counties went in favour of the Romanists, and had it not been for the creation of the 40 boroughs, there would have been a majority of four to one against the Protestant interest; and as it was, James had only 105 against 101. From the bigotted and ferocious principles of the Irish Romanists of that day, there can be no doubt, but that all the schemes of James for civilizing and planting the kingdom, and for introducing arts, manufactures, and commerce, would have been

been defeated, his colonies of industrious Protestants settled in the seventeen new counties, amongst a race just emerging from barbarism, rooted out, and the nation again overwhelmed with all the miseries attendant on anarchy, civil war, and rebellion, had he not created these 40 boroughs; which however, independent of the above consideration, he was bound by the principles of the British constitution to create, when he undertook to establish that constitution throughout the *whole* kingdom of Ireland. From that period to the revolution, as this kingdom increased in population, in trade, and in the number of towns, the succeeding princes exerted their undoubted prerogative, in increasing the number of boroughs, as by the principles of the constitution they were bound to do; no principles of the constitution being better established than these; that the actual representation of the people in parliament, is not the representation of numbers, but of property; (the lower and poorer classes of the people being the majority in numbers, are virtually represented only) that personal property is as well entitled to representation as real; and that the representatives of corporate towns which are not counties, are the representatives of personal property. The personal property of the nation had increased astonishingly between the sitting of the only parliament which James had ever summoned in Ireland, in 1613, and the year 1640; the improvement of the kingdom in that period, and particularly during the government of the great Earl of Strafford, I have already stated; the shipping of the kingdom alone, was encreased one hundred fold in that period: previous to the reign of Charles the second, another great colony of industrious Englishmen were settled in Ireland on the lands forfeited by the great Irish Rebellion in 1641, and during the reign of Charles the second, the improvement of the kingdom encreased with surprizing rapidity; as may be seen by Lord Chief Justice Keatinge's representation of the state of the kingdom at the commencement of the revolution war, preserved in Archbishop King's state of the Protestants of Ireland; the immense, and almost incredible increase of personal property in the nation during
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the reign of James the first, Charles the first and second, required an increased representation of personal property, that is an increase of boroughs; hence it is, that 34 boroughs were added to the representation from 1613 to the accession of king William and queen Mary; none have been since added, for though no burgessees were summoned from the borough of Enniscorthy, in the first parliament held in Ireland after the accession of William and Mary, as appears by the Commons Journals, yet burgessees were summoned from it in the parliament of James the first in 1613, and in the first parliament of Charles the second, in 1661, so that the ancient charter of that borough was renewed since the revolution, the borough was not newly created. And now, sir, I think I have fully exposed the wickedness of your misrepresentation, “ that the Irish boroughs for the “ greater part were creations by the house of Stewart, for “ the avowed purpose of subverting the parliamentary con- “ stitution of Ireland, and that they are gross and mon- “ strous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal “ usurpations on the constitution, diabolical in intention, “ mortal in principle, and radically subversive of the funda- “ mental rights of the realm.” For I have demonstrated from history and records, that the creations of boroughs by the house of Stewart, were not only warrantable exertions of the prerogative of the crown founded on the known laws of the realm, but on reason, on justice, and even political necessity; that the Era of the creation of boroughs is the Era of the birth of constitutional liberty; that the British constitution and its benefits civil and religious, could not have been communicated to *all* Ireland, and to *all* its natives and inhabitants, in a just and reasonable measure, or at all, without the creation of boroughs by James the first; that that creation of boroughs by James the first, was coeval with the communication of the British constitution, to *all* the inhabitants of Ireland without distinction; and that if it is recent and an innovation, the communication of the British constitution to *all* the inhabitants of Ireland, is also recent and an innovation; that it was not diabolical, but benevolent, in in-
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tention; not mortal, but vivifying, in principle; not radically subversive, but radically stabilitive, of the fundamental rights of the realm. It is also evident, that borough representation prevails as much in proportion in Great Britain as in Ireland; from all which I deduce, that your infamous misrepresentation of the creation of boroughs in Ireland, by the house of Stewart, of its purposes and effects, is (to use your own phrase) *diabolical* in intention; and that it is very difficult to determine, on reading it, whether your ignorance or your malice is most predominant.

Now, sir, I shall proceed to state the great outlines of the plan of reform which was proposed in the last parliament, and supported by you and your party: I did then and do now suppose, that it was entirely framed by you, though you procured another gentleman to propose it—because he contented himself with barely proposing it, leaving to you the task of supporting it, which you performed with the greatest zeal; because I look on your views as fully equal to the mischief it was calculated to produce; and because I do not believe, the gentleman who proposed it, had duly weighed the consequences of such a plan, if adopted, or by any means saw it in the same light in which it strikes me, and in which I think myself fully competent to expose it to the eye of the public; I am very sure if he had seen it in the same light, that his heart would have revolted from it: And I admit your powers of deception to be very considerable, when you were able so effectually to disguise its hellish deformity, as to prevail on him to introduce it into the House of Commons. Another ground of my belief that you were at least the adoptive father of it, is, that it strongly resembles the mode of representation established by the French democrats, with which your colleague Tone was perfectly well acquainted; and it is not impossible that he might have communicated with you on the subject; you know, sir, at least the public now know, he has been lately in England incog. in the exercise of his office as incendiary and French spy, and he is now probably in France, and it is currently reported, and generally credited, that he attended the ne-

Mr. Grattan's plan of reform in representation explained and exposed.

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gociation at Lisle, as one of the agents of your *popular and energetic Romanists, the United Irishmen*; for they had two there, as the Irish prints in their pay have universally asserted; and the same channels have conveyed to us the intelligence, that their indefatigable exertions defeated the negotiation. The first part of your proposed reform, was what you stiled the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, that is, the admission of them into the Houses of Parliament, and into all the great offices of the state, as well of political administration, as of jurisprudence; without the test: this you declared was so essentially necessary to your reform, that without it there could be no reform whatsoever: your principal view in introducing your reform, with this measure in the front, was to attach all the Irish Romanists of every description, not only your *popular and energetic Romanists, the United Irishmen*, the professed republicans and assassins the Catilinarian gang, of whose aid you were assured, but the respectable and hitherto loyal part of that communion, to your party. The second part of your reform was the dissolution, utter subversion and annihilation of all corporations of every kind, in cities, towns and boroughs, which enjoyed the privilege of sending representatives to parliament, with all their franchises; and the division of the nation into *departments*, each department to contain five thousand houses; and as by the hearth-money books the whole kingdom was computed to contain seven hundred thousand houses, reputed every wretched cabin, a house; it would be divided into one hundred and forty departments, each of which was to send two members to parliament, amounting in the whole to two hundred and eighty members, elective by the votes, not of the freeholders, but of the householders in each department. The county representation, and mode of election, was not to be altered, so that sixty-four county members would remain in the House of Commons, which added to two hundred and eighty, would make the whole number of representatives in the Irish House of Commons amount to three hundred and sixty four; almost two-thirds of the number of the British commoners: although Great Britain is nearly
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four times larger than Ireland, in population in the same proportion at least, and in wealth and real strength and energy, fifty times greater. The remaining parts of your project of reform, I shall omit, as they are only minutiae, and the two recited parts forming the great outline of it, are sufficient for my purpose.

This project of reform, at one stroke cuts down by the root, the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, modelled exactly from that of England; all corporations representable in parliament are to be abolished; and that renowned institution to which Great Britain owes her liberty, her property, and her glory, which she transplanted into this kingdom, and which is here coeval with the constitution, established on the expulsion or rather subjugation of barbarism, is, in the military sense of the word, to be *reformed*; that is, annihilated; Magna Charta, which secures to the subjects all their franchises, is to be defeated; freemen are to lose their franchises; corporations are to be dissolved, without quo warrantos or informations in the nature of quo warrantos, founded on abuses; because freemen in such cases would have a right by law to defend their franchises, and might defeat such attempts; and the old common law, aided by statute law, founded on justice and reason, would not serve your turn. When the public good demands the sacrifice of the private property of a subject, or of the franchise of a corporation, compensation is always made for the loss; no compensation is offered by your scheme to the freemen to be disfranchised for the loss of their franchises: But the injustice to individuals is not the most noxious part of your proposed dose for remedying the alleged maladies of the state, the interest of individuals, I admit, must give way to the general interest of the whole community; the deadly effect of such a poisonous drug on the body politic, and the felonious administration of it, I mean to explain, prevent, and reprobate.

A very few years since, a bill was brought into parliament in Ireland, for reducing the hearth-money tax by exempting a certain class of the inhabitants from the payment of it on
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account of their poverty. It was then stated to the House on calculations made from the books of the hearth-money collectors, as I have before mentioned, that there were two millions one hundred thousand inhabitants in this kingdom, who ought to be exempted from that tax on account of their poverty. This tax, on a house, or rather cabin, having but one fire hearth, was no more than two shillings and two pence, yearly, that is one halfpenny per week, computing the inhabitants of these houses or cabins, having but one fire-hearth each, at five to a house, the number of householders in the whole kingdom, so poor that they could not without the greatest distress pay a tax to the state of one halfpenny per week, amounts to four hundred and twenty thousand, the remaining householders inhabiting houses having each two fire-hearths, or more, amount, by the same mode of calculation, to about three hundred thousand, and by the bill for reducing the hearth-money tax, all houses having but one fire-hearth, were exempted from payment of that tax, the owner performing certain requisites specified in the bill, and they were chargeable with no other; so here are four hundred and twenty thousand householders in Ireland exempted from all taxes on account of their poverty, and who by your scheme are each to have an equal right of voting for representatives in parliament, with each of the other three hundred thousand householders occupying houses with two fire-hearths and upwards. And of these three hundred thousand householders, a great proportion are persons of very small properties, yet by your scheme the beggar occupying a cottage, the working artizan, or labourer, inhabiting a house with two fire-hearths, one half of it perhaps let to another family, were to have an equal right of voting for representatives in parliament, with the men of large real and personal property; and if such a man happened to have two houses, one in a city and one in the country, in the same department, he was not to have a vote for each house, but a vote for one only: And as the number of householders inhabiting cabins with one fire-hearth, so wretchedly poor, that they cannot afford to pay one halfpenny per week, as a tax for

for the support of the state, exceeds the number of all the other householders in the nation put together, and as amongst the householders inhabiting houses with two fire-hearths or more, the number of poor artizans procuring their livelihood by manual labour, and of other poor persons, infinitely exceed the number of wealthy householders; two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons would, by your scheme, be elected by the beggars, the labourers, the artizans depending for their existence on their daily labour, and by other indigent classes of the community, and the only representation of all real and personal property in the House of Commons would consist of sixty-four members, the representatives of counties. By your scheme the Romanists are to be admitted into both houses of parliament without the test, and to shew that by your scheme the infinite majority of the electors of two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons would be Romanists, I shall resort first to the authority of your colleague Mr. Tone, in his afore said state of Ireland, drawn up for the use of the French convention, and secondly, to your own authority. Mr. Tone writes thus: "The Catholics, *the great body of the* " *people*, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, the whole " peasantry of Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched " in Europe, may be said to be Catholic. In Ireland, the " name of England and her power is universally odious; the " Catholics are enemies to the English power from a hatred " to the English name. The interest of the Irish aristocrats" (that is, the Protestants and gentry possessed of estates) " is " adverse to that of the people, their own tenantry would " desert and turn against them." And now, sir, I shall quote your own authority to establish the same point. You assert in your address that three-fourths of the inhabitants of Ireland are Romanists: (I admit two-thirds are so) as all the inhabitants must occupy houses, and as the Irish cabins, the most numerous class of houses, contain in general but one family each, the number of houses in the kingdom inhabited by Protestants and Romanists must be in nearly the same proportion, if the ratio, in favour of the Romanists does

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not exceed ; as the inhabitants of cabins, holding only one family each, are almost entirely Romanists ; hence by your own calculation the Romish electors would exceed the Protestant in proportion of three to one at least. In the present state of the elective franchise, the Protestant electors infinitely exceed the Romanists, for the landed estates are mostly in the hands of Protestants, and the corporators are almost all Protestants ; your scheme therefore is calculated utterly to root out the Protestant interest in Ireland, as the prelude of your project of separation. Thus it is clear as well from your own authority, as that of your colleague Mr. Tone, that the great body of electors of two hundred and eighty members of the House of Commons, would consist of beggars, labourers, and poor artizans of the kingdom, all Romanists, who, according to Mr. Tone, hate and abhor the English name ; that is, as I have before shewed, all Protestants ; it could not be expected, or hoped for, that such electors would elect Protestant representatives, they would to a certainty elect Romanists, and such only as manifested the greatest hatred and malevolence to Protestants ; and for the most part men of desperate fortunes, your *popular and energetic Romanists*, the leaders of the murderous association of United Irishmen ; and in short, the chiefs of the Catilinarian gang of assassins and robbers, who now infest the country, would be the persons elected : and pre-eminence in every kind of wickedness would be a certain title to the suffrages of such electors. Thus four-fifths, if not five-sixths of the House of Commons, would consist of Romanists, men of small or of no property, of assassins, and robbers, enemies of the British Empire, their animosity against Protestants inflamed, as well by bigotry, envy of their prosperity, and avarice, as by the received opinions of them all, that their Protestant fellow subjects are usurpers of the estates of their ancestors : and rendered more desperate, dangerous, and inclined to war, by their ignorance, semibarbarity, and poverty, according to Mr. Tone. [The principle of the constitution, and on which borough representation was originally instituted, viz. That property, not numbers, ought to be actually

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tually represented in the House of Commons, would be completely overturned; numbers would prevail over property, and the purse of the nation, exclusively trusted to that House by the constitution, would be torn from the custody of the opulent, from whose coffers all its treasures are collected and recruited, and delivered over to the indigent and needy, whose poverty not only disables them from contributing one mite to its contents, but would most certainly invite and induce them to speculation and plunder of the public, to supply their wants and gratify their avarice and all other vices: The immediate consequences would be, the overturning the Protestant establishment in church and state, public distress, murder, banishment, plunder, confiscation, and a rebellion to sever this country from the British Empire. Your coadjutor Mr. Tone could not have devised a better engine for carrying on his project of separation, than your scheme of reform, if carried into execution; which induces me strongly to suspect, as I have already hinted, that it is not entirely of your own invention, but that you had the benefit of his assistance at least. In vain would the legal authority of the crown and the House of Lords struggle against the desperate enterprizes of such a House of Commons; every one acquainted with the history of his own country in the slightest degree, knows the immense powers in the state claimed, acquired, and exercised by the House of Commons since the extinction of the line of Tudor; and the limitation and reduction of the prerogative of the crown. It is very clear that the House of Commons, considering its present powers, if all influence of the crown, peerage, and aristocracy, was excluded from it, and if it was guided and ruled by turbulent and ambitious men, might easily overturn the present frame of the constitution; and that such a House of Commons, as your project of reformation offers to the nation, would not only be free from all influence of the crown, peerage, and aristocracy, but would be composed of the meanest and most intemperate members of society, in desperate circumstances, ready (to use your colleague Tone's language) for any change, because no change could make them worse,

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flagitious, ignorant, and bigoted, and therefore the tools specially adapted to the execution of the daring projects of wicked and ambitious demagogues; they would consider the higher classes of society as their natural enemies, and endeavour to hunt the aristocracy from the country by every species of violence and outrage, and to found a democratic Romish republic, separated from the British Empire, on the ruins of the monarchy, the peerage and the aristocracy in general. As to the change of the national religious establishment, you have furnished convincing proofs, you have even been at great pains to demonstrate, that it would give you no uneasiness, nay that it would meet your hearty approbation; to a modern philosopher, a mosque, a pagoda, a Romish chapel, a dissenting conventicle, and a Protestant church, are equally acceptable, as places of worship; the politician who derides all religion as priestcraft, will affect to be of that religion most palatable to the party he espouses, or which espouses him: and you have displayed such symptoms of your attachment to republicanism on the French plan, that no reasonable person can doubt your easy acquiescence with such a revolution in this kingdom, as has been effected in France; most people indeed conjecture, that you would not be long contented even with such a form of government, unless you should be elected one of the directory; nor indeed with any form of government, if the chief management of the public purse, and public administration was withheld from your insatiable avarice and ambition.

Exclusive of the radical wickedness of your scheme of reform, there are some absurdities in it, which deserve notice; not to aggravate its political and moral turpitude, that is impossible; but to expose the folly of the projector in some particulars, and to shew that folly and mischief may be co-partners in the same house. The kingdom is, by your scheme, to be divided into departments, each department to contain five thousand houses; local population in this and in every other kingdom is of a fluctuating nature, cities, towns, villages, and large tracts of country, which were heretofore

very populous, are now but thinly inhabited; in England some towns, such as Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, have swelled in a few years to ten times their former bulk, their inhabitants encreasing in that proportion; whilst other ancient towns and cities, such as Lincoln, have decreased; similar has been the revolution respecting the inhabitants of large tracts of country, and the republican faction in England, whose *understrapper* you are here, and their and your great apostles, Paine, Price, and Priestley, found their arguments for a reform of the representation of the people in England, on the inequality of it, arising from these changes in the state of local population: and your arguments for a reform in Ireland, are founded in a great measure on the same principle. If such changes in local population have taken place in England (a country for ages enjoying the sweets of a regular government) in short spaces of time, some of them within the memory of persons now living; much greater changes of that nature are to be expected, and are in fact experienced, in Ireland, a country not yet two hundred years reclaimed, for the most part, from a state of barbarism, and during that space of time twice in a great measure depopulated by intestine war. I can remember the city of Dublin, one-fourth less than it is at present; the village of the Black Rock near Dublin, fifty years ago, contained three houses only, it now with its environs, contains five hundred, if not more. The town of Belfast, that hot-bed of sedition, infamous for its turbulence even in the time of Cromwell, as may be seen in Milton's Works, has been nearly doubled in size within half a century; whilst the ancient town of Carrickfergus has been diminished in the same proportion: and the town of Belfast itself is now on the decline by the decay of its trade, owing to the restless disposition of its factious inhabitants. Revolutionary principles do not foster commerce—trade is nursed in the cradle of peace and tranquillity—the changes in local population in Ireland constantly visible, must require a constant variation in the limits of your proposed departments, and at every election of representatives, there

must be, to preserve your equality of representation, a new division of the kingdom, into departments; the immense increase of the number of electors, from less than eighty thousand, the present computed number, to seven hundred thousand and upwards by your scheme, and these for the most part semibarbarians, would of itself cause very great, if not irremediable, confusion in the elections of members of parliament. The undefineable limits of the departments for any length of time, would render such elections utterly impracticable. The desperate ruffian, who alone could propose himself as a candidate for a seat in parliament, for any department, with any probability of success, could never know with certainty what set of electors to solicit for votes; previous to each general election, to preserve equality of representation, a new division must be attempted: the election must immediately follow the division, because every day might cause a change in the local population: the shifting of the departments must be attended with inextricable confusion; the party views of active demagogues, living in different departments, would create insurmountable difficulties in every attempt of a new division; the very nature of the proposed divisions would render them impracticable in many instances. Suppose one department to decrease, after the limits of it were first defined, from five thousand houses to half that number, or to increase in the same proportion, before a new election, or during any given period; and suppose the departments surrounding it on every side, had neither encreased or decreased, or in a much less proportion during that period, a case which would often happen, where the departments were partly composed of cities, towns, and populous villages; how would the limits of the enclosed increased or diminished department be ascertained on a new division? If its population increased, its limits must decrease, and vice versa, must the limits of all the adjacent surrounding departments, be pushed in, and pushed out, according to the nature of the change of the population of the enclosed department? and must a progressive convulsion of compression or dilation

dilation be circulated in a ring through all the departments of the state, and all their inhabitants? The idea brings to my mind the soporific operation of the lecture in the Dunciad on the assembly of attendant dunces,

So from the midmost the nutation spreads,
Round and more round o'er all the sea of heads.

In short, the absurdity of your scheme for procuring a permanent equality of representation as to number of electors, is glaringly ridiculous; and as to its folly and impracticability can be only rivalled by the projects of the professors in the Gulliverian academy of Lagado; and yet it fully and sufficiently manifests the spirit of most dangerous innovation in the projector. Thus, sir, I conclude my strictures on your projected scheme of reform: trusting that I have dissected your proposed *felonious representation* (to use a phrase of your own in debate) as surgeons dissect malefactors, as well for public instruction as public example.

And now, sir, I shall consider the questions, whether any reform is requisite in the present mode of representation of the people in parliament, from actual or supposed abuses in it; and whether the existing laws of the land, with small additions to them, do not afford full and adequate means for the correction of such abuses as may have crept into it. The present mode of county representation, you have in your proposed scheme of reform, allowed to require no amendment, as it is by your scheme to remain on its present footing; against the present borough representation it is objected that the seats in parliament for many boroughs are sold by necessitous and corrupt men, who have obtained a domineering interest over their fellow corporators; that others of them are under the patronage of great noblemen, or of powerful and rich commoners, who control and command the votes of the corporators so far, as to procure persons of their nomination to be returned to parliament, as members for such boroughs; and that both the sale of, and nomination to, seats in parliament for such boroughs, are procured, either from the faulty original constitu-

The question, whether any and what kind of reform in representation is necessary, discussed.

tion of them, communicating their corporate rights to a very small number of persons, in some cases, to twelve burgessees only; or by the exertion of the interest of the aforesaid patrons of these boroughs, in procuring such persons only to be admitted members of these corporations, as have engaged always to vote as they shall direct; and in excluding many persons from admission, who from the fair construction of their foundation charters are entitled to be admitted members. It is also urged against borough representation in general, that it confines the election of representatives of the Commons in parliament to a very small number of persons, excluding the great mass of the people from the privilege of voting for members of parliament. I shall consider these objections seriatim. As to the first, the sale of seats in parliament for boroughs, I admit it is an abuse, but it is not an abuse of any great magnitude. I have carefully examined the state of the borough representation in the last parliament, and have found that the members who were generally reputed to have purchased seats in it, did not amount to more than thirty, if to so many. A great proportion of which were barristers, so that the purchasing members did not amount to above a tenth part of the House. Many boroughs, reputed venal, returned a purchaser for one seat only, the other seat being filled by the patron, or by one of his immediate dependants. And of all the subjects of this kingdom you, sir, have the least reason to complain of such venal representation. Every member of the last parliament, who exercised his oratorical talents under your auspices, sat in the House, as representative for a borough most notoriously venal, three gentlemen excepted, and two of these sat as representatives of boroughs under the influence of patrons; and the third, for a corporate town; they were all barristers. The ill success of some of your adherents in the trade of parliament, and their inability or disinclination to repurchase, owing to their ill success, you have pathetically lamented in your address, as I have already noted. The existing laws, if properly enforced, afford some remedy of this venality of seats in parliament; and

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dered.

If they do not afford a complete one, it is very easy to devise laws, whose operation would prevent, or detect and punish, such corruption. Tests, abjuring all corrupt means of obtaining seats, may be imposed on all members on their taking their seats. The penalties of perjury, exclusion from, and perpetual disability to sit, in parliament; and deprivation of, and perpetual exclusion from, all corporate privileges, may be inflicted on the corruptor when detected, and special means of detection of all such corrupt bargains may be prescribed. When venality is detected, the corporators guilty of aiding, or abetting, the corruption, may be disfranchised, and otherwise heavily punished, and provision made, for transferring and extending the franchises of the corporation to other persons, and to greater numbers, by the grant of a new charter, or by special authority of parliament. Such wholesome regulations will prevent the abuse of the franchises of boroughs by the sale of seats in parliament, without altering or subverting the present frame of the constitution. Greedy adventurers in the trade of parliament will by such means be for ever excluded; and must betake themselves to honest employments; and I do not know any one person in the kingdom, such laws will operate against, with so much effect, as against yourself; when they shall be enacted, you must shut up your shop, close your books, abandon your hitherto most lucrative trade, and live on your ill-gotten acquisitions. You have sufficient penetration to discover, that the enacting such laws would operate to your own disadvantage; and therefore, though you declaim against the abuse of venality in borough representation, you mean only to deceive and inflame the vulgar by such declamations: You do not intend correction or improvement. Your aim is utter subversion, not reformation of the constitution, and your project manifests it. So far as such corrective and preventive laws may be said to be a reform in parliament, I admit the expediency of such reform. But what reasonable argument can you ground on so partial an abuse easily curable by the application of proper remedies, for the annihilation of the whole

whole borough representation, of all the corporations in the kingdom, cities, towns, and boroughs sending representatives to parliament? Is the whole representative body to suffer political death, because a limb of it is affected by a disease easily curable? what opinion would be entertained of the mental sanity of a surgeon, who, because a man's arm was slightly bruised, would prescribe the shooting him through the head as an effectual cure? or of an architect, who should propose to demolish the whole building to repair a flaw in the parapet? It is almost impossible to give such sort of arguments any serious answer. As to the second objection against borough representation, arising from the patronage of boroughs vested in noblemen and commoners of great property, and chiefly acquired by them by the situation of their estates, lying within, or adjacent to, the precincts of boroughs, it cannot be supported on the ground of venality. Such noblemen and commoners receive no pecuniary advantage from such patronage; on the contrary, the support of their interest in these patronized corporations, is attended by considerable trouble and expence; and they recommend to the seats in parliament, men strongly connected with themselves, and under their influence. You state, sir, in your address, that the patronage of a borough is sometimes sold to a rich nobleman or commoner for the sum of sixteen thousand pounds, which, if true, shews, that no person except such as possess very large properties, can obtain or retain the patronage of such a borough. The annual legal interest of sixteen thousand pounds amounts to nine hundred and sixty pounds, and to this must be added the cost of maintaining the interest in the borough, which must annually amount to a considerable sum; hence the retaining the patronage of such a borough, must stand the patron in the annual expence of above one thousand pounds, an expence which octennial and other contingent sales of the seats would never defray: consequently, if views of advantage from the sale of the seats, were the inducements to the purchase, the purchasers must be idiots indeed! but as I have

above stated, the seats for these boroughs are never sold; and respecting such boroughs, no reform is necessary. The true source of *actual* parliamentary representation is property; the House of Commons judges and decides on the sums necessary to be levied on the subject for defraying the expences of the state, they will not suffer the least alteration of their decisions on that subject to be made by the other branches of the legislature. The necessity, the quantum, and the expenditure of the public supplies, are under their peculiar cognizance and jurisdiction. This superintendence has bestowed on that House all the rest of its powers and privileges, which it has gradually acquired since its first formation in the reign of Henry the third: It is therefore highly consistent with the original principles of our constitution, that the members of society who have most property, should have most influence in the House of Commons: They who contribute most largely to the public expence should have most interest in that House which raised the funds for defraying it, and directs the expenditure. The nobleman or commoner whose property amounts to ten thousand pounds yearly, should have a greater sway in the House of Commons, than the poor person, whose property amounts perhaps only to the value of the garments which cover him; because the one contributes largely to the expences of the state, the other little or nothing. The rich nobleman, though he is taxed by the House of Commons in proportion to his property, yet cannot himself sit in it, he is therefore entitled to influence in that assembly, which he can no otherwise possess than by substitution; most of what I have here urged will apply to the rich commoner, patron of a borough; the principle, on which his claim to influence in the House of Commons rests, is the same; he indeed may sit in that House, and generally does, for one of the seats of his patronized borough, a privilege which the nobleman does not enjoy; but the magnitude of his property entitles the commoner to more interest there than one seat can confer upon him. The great stakes of both the rich
nobleman

nobleman and commoner in the state generally secure their attachment to it; and engage both themselves and their adherents to support the real interests of their country; because by so doing they support their own. And this mixture of aristocratic influence with the democratic part of our constitution, is admirably adapted to the correction of excesses and of errors incident to both, and harmonizes that unrivalled constitution. You do not, sir, urge the objections against that part of our parliamentary representation, which proceeds from such patronized boroughs, as are not venal, with a good grace; you never would have sat in parliament, if such representation had not existence in our constitution; neither your family, fortune, or acquirements could give you any rational hope of such a distinction. Until the last parliament, when the citizens of Dublin were so far deceived by your preceding conduct, as to return you one of their representatives, you never had a seat in the House of Commons, except for a patronized borough, and whilst you sat in parliament, as the substitute of a nobleman, by whose interest you were returned, we never heard of your present desperate project of pretended reform, nor what you now stile emancipation; the support of the protestant *ascendancy*, a term coined by you, was then your cant; your patron, if you had then disclosed your malignant designs against the church and state, might have discarded you. Yet notwithstanding your original admission into the House of Commons as representative for a patronized borough, which I shall always consider a public misfortune, I must at the same time avow my approbation of that mode of representation in a qualified degree, as well for the reasons I have given, as because I have known some of the greatest ornaments of their country, and men who have done the most signal services to it, introduced into that House by such means.

The objection, that many persons well intitled to the freedom of corporations, are notwithstanding excluded by electioneering intrigue, is fully answered by stating, that they have
 their

their legal remedies for such injustice by writs of mandamus, and all abuses in corporations except the venality above mentioned, and that too in some degree, is remediable by the due course of the existing laws of the land, by writs of quo warranto, and informations in the nature of quo warranto, and require not any new species of reform whatsoever; the existing laws duly exerted, and which it is in the power of all injured parties constantly to resort to, and to demand their effectual exertion, securing the pure and undefiled exercise of the rights conferred on a borough at its original creation.

It is objected, that the original constitution of some boroughs is vicious, in conferring the whole privilege of electing representatives in parliament on a sovereign and twelve burgesses; it is to be remarked, that very few boroughs in this kingdom are so constituted, the charters of an infinite majority of the corporations in this kingdom, confer the privilege of voting for representatives in parliament, on the sovereigns, burgesses, and freemen at large; and with respect to such as are so constituted, it may be urged, that the investing the principal inhabitants of some boroughs with the privilege of electing representatives in parliament for such boroughs exclusively, was by no means an unreasonable exertion of the prerogative of the crown, but is well warranted by that principle of the constitution, which directs, that the representation of the people in parliament should be regulated, not by numbers, but by property and respectability; and the principal inhabitants or landholders in such boroughs are *actually* represented in parliament, the others *virtually*, and such constitution may be peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of some boroughs. The exclusion of the great mass of the people from interfering in the election of representatives in parliament, or from the elective franchise, by the present state of borough representation, I consider as the bulwark, and not as a weak and faulty part, of our constitution. From the first dawn of the English constitution to the present day, the members enjoying the elective franchises in England never amounted

amounted to one-sixtieth part of the people. The case has been the same in Ireland since the communication of the English constitution to this country, and it must always continue so, whilst the *actual* representation of property and respectability, and *virtual* representation of numbers, continue to be principles of the constitution. In Britain, a country whose inhabitants are mostly of the same religious persuasion, which has been long subject to a regular system of laws, a due administration of justice, and where the laws meet with due reverence and submission, a dilation of the elective franchise, in some moderate degree, perhaps might not be attended with any destructive convulsion; the situation of this country is the very reverse of that of Britain in all the above particulars; and if projects or reform are rejected in Britain, as tending to anarchy and revolution, there are reasons for rejecting them here a thousand fold stronger than the reasons which have decided their rejection in the sister country; and how very ridiculous is your argument, or rather declamation, against the present parliamentary constitution of Ireland, *calling it a borough parliament, and stating that it was adequate to the management of Ireland whilst it continued a province, but absurd and inapplicable when that province became a nation!* Ireland though a kingdom with an independent legislature, is still, and I hope ever will be, a province of the British empire; and its parliamentary constitution is the very same with that of Great Britain. The boroughs in England are as numerous in proportion as the boroughs in Ireland, nor are they a whit more independent, more chaste, or more incorrupt; if Ireland has a borough parliament, so has Great Britain; the latter is a nation, at least in as large a sense of the word, as the former, that parliament has been found adequate to the management of Great Britain, and a similar parliament has been found, and I trust ever will be found, adequate to the management of Ireland, whether it be a province, a nation, or both; and both it may be, and is. I trust I have already shewn, that your project of pretended reform, built on the principle

principle of extending actual representation to the mass of the people, that is, of regulating it by numbers, not by property, teems with destruction, subversion, and rebellion; that like Pandora's box, it is a composition of all the plagues with which the human race was ever afflicted; and consequently that it is the true interest of every lover of his country, of all the inhabitants of Ireland, whether Protestants of the established church, Dissenters, or Romanists, (notwithstanding your deceptive seductive arts to insist the latter class under your political standard) to join as one man in support of the present constitution of their country, and in maintaining the present mode of parliamentary representation, as they tender the preservation of themselves, their properties, their wives, their children and the future welfare of their posterity in general; that they ought to consider, that all the classes of people in a state, form but the one state, and that the lower and poorer classes, though excluded from the elective franchise, yet are represented in parliament by members elected by the richer and more respectable classes; inasmuch as such members are representatives of the inhabitants of the whole state, which during the existence of a regular government is one and indivisible, and not barely, of the persons who elect them, who are but part of the state: that the lower poorer classes, not participating of the elective franchise, are nevertheless, *virtually* represented, the richer and more respectable classes, enjoying the elective franchise *actually*: and that *virtual* representation confers as much benefit on the represented, as *actual*; because the representatives are bound to consult and guard the interests of the whole community equally; that such has been, and from the nature of things must be, the principles and practice of every representative government on earth: and that the extension of the elective franchise to the mass of the people indiscriminately, would render all representative government impracticable, and would bury civil liberty under its cumbersome ruins. In short, a wise people will always consider avaricious, greedy, importunate, insatiable, projecting, ambitious

bitious, demagogues, clamorous mendicant orators, and sham patriots, as the most destructive, detestable *pests* of civil society.

Having thus, sir, shewn what amendments and corrections our present system of parliamentary representation may stand in need of, and how they are to be elected; and having shewn, that the abuses which time may have introduced into that system, are very easily remediable; that the correction and prevention of such abuses are not what you call reform, that such reform is not only inexpedient, but ruinous; and that no general reform is necessary; and having in a preceding part of my answer, exposed the destructive and fraudulent tendency of the first part of your reform which you call emancipation, and that your projected reform of the representation of the people in parliament *would not give a constitution to the people, nor Catholic emancipation a people to the constitution*, as you quaintly and dogmatically express yourself; I shall proceed to consider your alleged grievance of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, which influence you call a *foreign yoke, the legislative usurpation of a humiliated and a tame tyrant!* I am glad, sir, that you admit the English cabinet to be a humiliated and *tame* tyrant, that is, if I understand you right, a tyrant deprived of power, and conscious of its impotence, and if this foreign cabinet is deprived of power, and conscious of its impotence, it cannot retain a galling influence in Ireland, the influence of such a reduced tyrant must arise either from the folly of those who submit to its dictates, or from their consciousness of the wisdom of its counsels, and the salutary effects of its measures; if its influence were pernicious and destructive, even the folly of those who had for a time submitted to it could not insure its duration, its existence must be transitory, as it would be only during pleasure, and even idiots cannot be long pleased with that which is destructive and painful; but if its influence arises from the propriety, the justice, the wisdom, and beneficence, of its measures, its duration might be protracted, and if such be the nature

of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, I hope it will long continue. But first, sir, I, must explain your precise meaning of the words, *Influence of the English cabinet, and its legislative usurpation in Ireland*; it is this, that the measures proposed to the Irish parliament for adoption by the lord lieutenant of Ireland and his chief secretary, (always Englishmen appointed by his majesty with the advice of his cabinet counsel in England) are, previous to their being proposed here, devised and digested by his majesty, and his cabinet council in England, and that the influence of the servants of the crown in the parliament of Ireland is so great, that such measures are generally adopted here. Your complaints on this head, sir, amount to this; that it is a public grievance that his majesty should interfere in the government of his kingdom of Ireland, part of his empire, inseparably annexed to his imperial crown of Great Britain; it is the duty of the king, by his ministers, to propose for the adoption of parliament such measures, as he with the advice of his cabinet council shall deem necessary or conducive to the safety and prosperity of his empire: he has by the constitution an undoubted right to deliberate on those measures; he is resident in England, and is it reasonable to suppose that he will approve of such measures as may be recommended by his servants in this kingdom, as proper to be proposed for the adoption of his parliament of Ireland, a kingdom inseparably annexed to and dependant upon his imperial crown of Great Britain, without consulting with his cabinet council in England, on the propriety of such measures, and in their tendency to promote the general welfare of the whole empire? any person who maintains the doctrine, that the British cabinet council ought not to interfere with their advice to our common sovereign on such measures, is an enemy to the connexion of the two countries, and to the unity of the empire; the English cabinet council giving their advice to his majesty on Irish measures, are so far an Irish cabinet council, and to cut off all interference of the English cabinet council in advising his Majesty, with respect

to Irish measures, is in effect to cut off all interference of his Majesty in the government of his kingdom of Ireland; because he is resident in England, and cannot constitutionally act in measures which regard his kingdom of Ireland without consulting the Cabinet Council in England, as such measures ought not to operate exclusively for the benefit, either of Ireland or Great Britain, but for the benefit of the Empire in general, and no one measure of government can operate for the benefit or detriment of Ireland, which does not operate for the benefit or detriment of Great Britain, when the interests of both countries are rightly understood: If his Majesty, assisted by the advice of his Cabinet Council in England is not to interfere with the government of his kingdom of Ireland, he must approve all measures, transmitted to him by his cabinet council in Ireland, or reject them, without consulting with the ministers in England, with whom he consults on all business of the Empire, and without hearing them debated, or in any manner exercising his own judgment upon them, and this would in fact completely separate the two countries to the ruin of Ireland, whose welfare, as I have already shewn, depends on her connexion with Britain; he might remain nominally King of Ireland, but he would be only nominally so; the very appointment of his lieutenant in Ireland, now appointed with the advice of his cabinet council in England, would be torn from him by the doctrine, that the English cabinet ought not to interfere with the affairs of Ireland; the measures respecting Ireland recommended by the English cabinet, through the medium of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, to the Irish Parliament, are generally first devised and digested by the cabinet council in Ireland, and thence transmitted to England, for the approbation of his Majesty: And I do not find that such measures receive any greater countenance or patronage from the parliament of Ireland, than the measures of government in Great Britain receive from the parliament of that country; such measures are freely debated, varied, approved, or rejected, in both parliaments. And the cabinet

binet council of England, or rather his Majesty, (for it is his Majesty's lawful influence with his Irish parliament you really mean, when you talk of the influence of the English cabinet in Ireland, and it is the lawful exertion of his Majesty's prerogative as sovereign of this realm you mean to exclude) has no more influence in the Irish parliament, than in the British. To shew it is his Majesty's lawful authority you mean to abolish in this kingdom, when you talk of extinguishing the influence of the English cabinet, it is to be observed, that his Majesty never exercises his kingly office in the general affairs of government, and particularly in devising political measures to be proposed to his parliament for their approbation, without first advising with his cabinet council; and you state precisely, *that the unconstitutional influence of the crown, and what you falsely stile, the proscription of the Catholics, are the fundamental causes of the discontent and jealousy of Ireland*; now what you here stile the influence of the crown, you in other parts of your address stile the influence of the British cabinet in the parliament of Ireland: and in truth throughout the whole address, the most abusive effusion of malice I have ever read! you make use of the words *Ministers of the Crown* and *British Cabinet*, to signify the Crown and the King himself, by way of a little quibbling defence against legal prosecution. Whenever you mention any of our deceased Monarchs, the abuse of whom is not by law punishable, you call them, as well as their Ministers in plain terms, murderers, robbers, and cheats; it would be as yet, you well know, somewhat dangerous to apply the same opprobrious Billingsgate language to the reigning Monarch. What you stile unconstitutional influence of the crown, or of the British cabinet in Parliament, is nothing more or less, than the influence in parliament which the laws give to the reigning Monarch, and without which he would be no sovereign whatsoever; in short, you mean his prerogative, as conferred and defined by the laws of the land, which is his constitutional influence, and the depriving him of which would in fact be his deposition.

The reform you proposed and whose constitution you in some measure explain in the Litany with which you conclude your address, would banish from the House of Commons, all kingly and aristocratic influence, and would render all Monarchical government impracticable; it would in fact extinguish the Monarchy, and substitute in its place a democratic republic, and all your rant of bombastic figurative nonsense, calculated to blind the intellectual vision (to use your own phrase) of your readers by the dust of the rubbish, “*such as self-legislation, baptizing the House of Hanover with royalty, the people being sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects. Kings are but satellites, your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies,*” and above all that conclusive effort of your sublime and poetic genius, for which you certainly merit rank amongst authors, the quotations from whose works illustrate the precepts contained in the *art of sinking in poetry*, in which you so happily blend the ideas of the spindle, the distaff, and the school-boy’s top, with that of the revolution of the planets round the sun from the principle of attraction, in the following elegant effusion! “*Reform is a principle of attraction about which the King and people would spin on quietly and insensibly in regular movements, and in a system common to them both;*” all this rant I say, is thundered forth pell mell on the reader, with a view the more effectually to conceal the hideous aspect of your gorgon project, and to prevent and obviate the terrors and detestation it would create in the minds of all people, if it were seen in all its native horrible deformity!

Having, sir, thus examined and exposed the nature of your pretended grievances and proposed remedies, I shall proceed to the epitome of your principles as set forth in this address. You state that the Minister of the Crown has endeavoured “*to render the King in Parliament every thing and the people nothing*, that such attempt renders him, the Minister, more a traitor to the constitution, than the people would be to the King, if they should advance in arms and place their leader on the Throne, because in them it would

“ be

“ be only rebellion against their creature, the King, but in
 “ the *other* it would be rebellion against *his Creator* the peo-
 “ ple,” by the word *other* here you do not point out the
 Minister, but the King : Because by the word *other* you
 mean the person created by the people, that is, as you state
 it, the King. There is indeed a sort of juggling confusion
 in the whole paragraph, which demonstrates, that when
 you use the word Minister of the Crown, you really mean
 the King ; and that you frequently resort to this species of
 quibbling from the cautionary motives already mentioned.

From this paragraph it appears, you deny that the King
 and his Parliament conjointly compose the supreme power
 of the state : that is, the King, Lords and Commons acting
 in a body ; but that there is a power infinitely above them
 vested in the people at large : and although the people com-
 pose one estate of the Parliament, by their representatives
 duly elected, yet that the mass of the people still remains
 the supreme power in the state, (as there must be some su-
 preme power in every state) and are not bound by the or-
 dinances to which they consent by their delegates. This
 is a novel doctrine unknown to the British Constitution, ex-
 tracted from the modern French Code of Jurisprudence.
 By the British Constitution, the King in Parliament, that
 is, acting in conjunction with his Parliament, acts in con-
 junction with his people, and therefore to assert, that the
 King in Parliament can be every thing, and the people
 nothing, would be a blunder, if you did not mean to as-
 sert, that the mass of the people, though represented in
 parliament, yet remain the supreme power of the state. A
 second novel principle, avowed in this paragraph is, that no
 act whatever committed by the people against the king, can
 amount to rebellion, even though they should advance in
 arms, and place their leader on the throne, because as you
 state, the people is the *creator*, the king the *creature*, and the
creator can never commit rebellion against his *creature* : It
 follows also as a corollary from this doctrine, that the peo-
 ple, the *creator*, may at their pleasure annihilate their *crea-*

jure, the king, because from the very nature of *creation*, the *creature* has no right to a longer existence, than it shall please its *creator* to limit, who may at any time justly put an end to that existence. A third novel doctrine contained in this paragraph is, that every attempt of the king and parliament to secure, or to exercise, a supreme authority in the state, is in the king a wicked rebellion against his creator, the people, for which he, and the parliament his abettors in such attempt, deserve the punishment of rebellion, that is, death and confiscation: and that the people inflicting such penalties on him and his abettors, are acting justly and constitutionally. This principle too is extracted from the French code. The French philosophers dethroned and beheaded their king, because a few of his adherents presumed to defend him from assassination in his own palace, by the mob, that is the people, and he and they therefore, according to the new French code, committed rebellion against their sovereign, the people, and were justly condemned to death: A fourth novel doctrine advanced by you, is that such attempt in king and parliament would be a wickeder act of rebellion in Ireland, more a rebellion in equity (*absurd combination!*) than in any other country, because, as you expressly state, such attempt “*would be the introduction not only of a despotic, but a foreign yoke,*” and in another part you *state the king to be an absentee*: that is, though Great Britain and Ireland form but one empire, and though the king resides within that empire, yet as he does not reside in Ireland, he is a foreigner and an absentee, and Great Britain, as to Ireland is a *foreign* country. How much you intend to encourage loyalty in Ireland, and to foster the connexion between the two countries, by inculcating such doctrines, I shall leave to the public to judge, and they no doubt will do justice to your sentiments; notwithstanding the impudent, hypocritical, and fraudulent ejaculations of qualified attachment to kingly power, and to that connexion, contained in the species of litany with which you close your address. You have officiously, zealously, and emphatically justified

the inhuman Irish massacre of all the Protestants in this kingdom, which the popish rebels of 1641 could lay their hands upon, men, women, and children, as I have already shewn: you not only justify the present horrible assassinations and robberies, nightly committed throughout many parts of this kingdom, by *popular and energetic Romanists, United Irishmen*, but you applaud them—expressing yourself thus, as I have already noticed concerning them, they are the effects of “*the spirit of political reformation,*” and even in these cases where charged to be carried to “*confiscation, it is evident from the charge itself, that confiscation looks to political vengeance, not private plunder, it is a public cause, and let no man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other.*” Confiscation means the seizing of the goods and property of felons and traitors, and securing them for the use of the public. Attend, ye citizens of Dublin! Mr. Henry Grattan, who once sat in parliament as one of your representatives, publishes an address to you, in which with most unparalleled impudence, he justifies and applauds the nightly assassinations and robberies of the United Irishmen! These murderers and robbers, whose atrocities make the very blood of every honest man in the kingdom run cold at the recital, he tells you, are all glorious patriots acting in the cause of liberty against tyranny! their robberies, he calls *confiscations*, that is, the lawful seizure of the property of traitors to be applied to the public use! According to him all your friends and relations slaughtered in their beds at night, have been justly put to death as traitors to the public cause of liberty, and their property has been justly seized by the murderers, to be applied to the support of the army of United Irishmen! The horrible massacre of your ancestors, according to him, was also just exertion of public spirit in a similar glorious cause of liberty! Such, sir, are the contents of your address to your former constituents, an address I will venture to affirm, never yet surpassed, nay I may say equalled, in arrogance, impudence, falsehood, misrepresentation, rancour, and wickedness, by any publication, which ever made its appearance, and escaped with impunity, in any civilized country

country under the Sun; you know, sir, I have neither misquoted nor misrepresented you, and I recommend you very heartily to the patronage and protection of your masters, the Jacobins in Great Britain, and of their brethren in France and Ireland; they never yet met, and never will meet with any human creature more deserving of the countenance and protection of such a respectable society.

I shall now, sir, conclude my answer, by a sort of litany, as you conclude your address, first observing, that your last ejaculation—"However it may please the Almighty to dispose of *princes*, and of *parliaments*—may the liberties of the *people* be *immortal*," openly teaches that a limited monarchy, a government founded on the joint powers of a king, lords, and representatives of the people, is not the best or only mode of securing the liberty of the subjects, that such liberty may not only subsist, but may be of so permanent a nature, as to be immortal under a government without king or parliament, that is under a *Jacobin Democratic Republic*, with a fervent prayer for the establishment of which government, you conclude your address, and a very proper and consistent conclusion it is!

Now for my litany :

May the present constitution of the British Empire be immortal; and may the king always enjoy that influence in both houses of parliament, with which the constitution has invested him, and which is indispensably necessary for the good government of the Empire!

May the parliamentary constitution be immortal; and may it always be an operative part of the constitution, confining the kingly power within constitutional limits only; and may it never be able or inclined to encroach on the constitutional authority of the crown, but may that authority, be for ever able to maintain its own constitutional rights!

May the House of Commons flourish; may it ever be elected by the opulent and most respectable part of the people only; and may the whole community, and the common interest of the whole Empire, be the only objects of its care!

May

May the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland be immortal ; may the British Empire be one and indivisible ; and may the traitorous attempts, of all greedy, clamorous, sturdy beggars, mendicant orators, sham patriots, desperate projectors, French agents, and spies, and Jacobin incendiaries, to separate this nation from the British Empire, be abortive !

May all such traitors abjure the realm and depart (to use the phrase of Mr. Henry Grattan,) “ *riding on the waves of the Atlantic* ;” or may they meet the fate of Macheath’s gang in the opera, and be all either *hanged or transported* !

May the Protestant religion, as now established by law, continue to be the established religion of the state, and the Protestant ascendancy in church and state be immortal ; may all its professors be inspired with true christian courage, piety, and charity ; and may all dissenters from that christian communion, of whatsoever denomination, be reconciled and converted to it ; and until it shall please the Almighty, so to illuminate their understandings, as to work such a change in their opinions, may they enjoy perfect civil freedom in the fullest and fairest sense ; but may all such of them as erroneously maintain doctrines subversive of the laws and constitution of the state, as points of faith, be excluded from all functions, offices and employments in the state, which would furnish them with opportunity and power to subvert, or to attempt to subvert, the constitution of the Empire ! May the perfect civil freedom of the subject, never be artfully confounded with the enjoyment, or capability of enjoyment, of the political power of the state ; and may exclusion from such functions, offices and employments, of all members of any sect of christians, which maintain as points of faith, doctrines subversive of the laws and constitution of the state, continue, as long as they shall persist in professing and maintaining such doctrines !

PATRICK DUGENAN.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING,

- I. THE ADDRESS of the ROMAN CATHOLICS of DUBLIN, presented to MR. GRATTAN at their Meeting in FRANCIS-STREET, *February 27, 1795*, with his Answer.
- II. MR. GRATTAN'S ADDRESS to his FELLOW CITIZENS of DUBLIN, on the Dissolution of the Parliament, in *July 1797*.
- III. MR. GRATTAN'S EPISTLE to DR. DUIGE-NAN, *August 7, 1798*.
- IV. EXTRACT from the REPORT of the SECRET COMMITTEE of the HOUSE OF LORDS, *August 3, 1798*.

ALPHABETICAL

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY

IN TWO VOLUMES
THE SECOND VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY
FROM 1700 TO 1780

LONDON: PRINTED BY
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1787

THE
A D D R E S S
OF THE
CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN, &c.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY GRATTA N.

S I R,

WE are instructed by the Catholics of Dublin, to offer you their humble tribute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent services which you have rendered to this Kingdom, on various occasions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cause. It is not easy to do justice to the merits of a man, whose name is connected with the most brilliant events of his time; and who has already obtained the highest of all titles—THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY; but though it is impossible to add to your fame, by any terms we can employ, it must be grateful to you to learn, that you have a place, not only in the admiration, but in the affections of your countrymen.

To be thus loved and admired, is surely an enviable distinction. It may not, perhaps, be sufficient to preserve or purchase station and power, at Court; but to a well-formed mind it is a source of purer satisfaction, than the favour and protection even of Monarchs or their Ministers.

Few men have had it in their power to do so much for their native land, as you have done for Ireland. When you first

entered into public life, garrison habits, and provincial prejudices, were opposed to Irish interests and feelings; and what was still more discouraging, the different descriptions of people in this country, far from being ready to meet in a common point for their mutual advantage, were kept asunder by perverse and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into this chaos of contradictions, you infused your spirit, and brought order, in some measure, out of confusion.

The first effort of your eloquence was to rouse the Irish Parliament, to assert its own independence; and notwithstanding the habits of subjection which particular causes had induced, you were successful.

At present you are engaged in a pursuit, equally honourable to your head, and still more to your heart. As Mover of the Catholic Bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of moderation and justice, where you before inspired courage; and urging men who triumphed over foreign supremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and difficulty, a sacrifice of the prejudices of their youth and education.

In this work, so full of genius and public spirit, and which goes to the creation of a people, as your former exertions went to the forming of a Constitution, you have already made considerable progress; and when you and your illustrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous Viceroy, we looked with confidence to the accomplishment of your patriotic intentions.

Some enemy, however, to the King and to the People, has interposed his malignant and wicked suggestions, and endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we are far from giving way to sentiments of despondency and alarm. We feel the justice of our pretensions, and we are persuaded that what is just will prevail over the arts of perfidy and falsehood.

What gives us the most sensible satisfaction is, the general union of sentiment that pervades all ranks and description of
 Irishmen

Irishmen on the present occasion. Never before did Ireland speak with a voice so unanimous.—Protestants and Catholics are at this moment united, and seem to have no other contest but who shall resent most the outrage that has been offered to Irish pride, in the intended removal of a patriotic Viceroy from the Government—and you and your friends from the councils of this Kingdom.

For our own part, it shall be our study to cultivate an union so happily begun. We have no selfish or narrow views. We do not wish to acquire privileges for ourselves in order to abridge the privileges of others; for we know that in matters of Liberty and Constitution, to give is to gain.

With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the situations which you and your friends are about to lay down, if, unfortunately for this country, such an event should happen, we shall only say that we do not envy them the sensations which they must take up at the same time. That man's temper must be of steel, who can hold up his head amidst the hisses of a betrayed and irritated Nation.

As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not disturb the serenity of your minds. The veneration and gratitude of the People will attend you in retirement, and will preserve you from reflections, which must be the portion of those who may be your dismal and melancholy successors.

Signed by Order,
 THOMAS BRAUGHALL, Chairman.
 JOHN SWEETMAN, Secretary.

MR.

MR. GRATTAN'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

IN supporting you, I support the Protestant—we have but one interest and one honour, and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all—The Protestant already begins to perceive it—a late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. YOUR EMANCIPATION WILL PASS—rely on it, YOUR EMANCIPATION MUST PASS—it may be death to one Viceroy—it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one Governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war—rather let Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves, while you are fighting to preserve the blessing of a Constitution, have really and *bona fide* those blessings.

My wish is that you should be free now—there is no other policy which is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been possessed.

When his Majesty's Ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the

the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to public advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition—Measures therefore, public measures and arrangements—and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us—were promised in one quarter, and with assurances they were not resisted in another.

In the service of Government, under his Excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the Kingdom and the Empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws—the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more—we obtained a great force, and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people—These were not the measures of courtiers—they were the measures of Ministers.

His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions, a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British Cabinet, to the sense of the British nation.—I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the English Cabinet—but if services done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospect of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of Government, as the only honour an English Minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom—his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country—for myself, the pain, on that occasion, I should feel on rendering

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ing up my small portion of Ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those *dreadful* guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old Task-masters—that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination, (at once inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British Court, and by the reprobation of the Irish People,) return to power—I have no hesitation to say that **THEY WILL EXTINGUISH IRELAND—OR IRELAND MUST REMOVE THEM**—it is not your case only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle. I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and *faith* in some quarter of another country, that would have prevented such catastrophe—but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation; it is, I say, no proof of wisdom or generosity, to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN'S

A D D R E S S , &c

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS OF DUBLIN !

I THANK you for past favours ; I have found in you kind and gracious Masters—you have found in me an unprofitable Servant ;—under that impression I beg to assure you, that so long as the present state of Representation in the Commons House continues, so long must I respectfully decline the honour of soliciting at your hands a seat in that Assembly.

On this principle it was I withdrew from Parliament, together with those with whom I act—and I now exercise my privilege, and discharge my duty in communicating with my Constituents, at the eve of a General Election, some say an immediate Dissolution, when I am to render back a trust, which, until Parliament shall be reformed, I do not aspire to re-assume. The account of the most material parts of my conduct, together with the reason of my resolution, will be the subject of this letter.

When I speak of my conduct, I mean that adopted in common and in concert with the other Gentlemen. We should have felt ourselves deficient in duty if we had not made one effort before the close of the Parliament, for the restoration of domestic peace, by the only means by which it seemed attainable—conciliation ;—and if we had not sub-
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mitted our opinions, however fallible, and our anxieties, however insignificant, on a subject which in its existence shook your state, and in its consequences must shake the empire. Our opinion was, that the origin of the evil, the source of the discontent, and the parent of the disturbance was to be traced to an ill-starred and destructive endeavour, on the part of the Minister of the Crown, to give to the Monarch a power which the Constitution never intended: to render the King in Parliament every thing, and the People nothing; and to work the People completely out of the House of Commons, and in their place to seat and establish the Chief Magistrate absolute and irresistible; it appeared to us that a Minister guilty of such a crime, is as much a traitor to the Constitution, as the People would be to the King, if they should advance in arms, and place their leader on the Throne—more guilty of treason in equity and justice—because in them it would be only rebellion against their creature, the King—but in the other it would be rebellion against his creator, the People: it occurred to us, that in this country the offence would be still higher, because in this country, it would be the introduction not only of a despotic but of a foreign yoke, and the revival of that great question which in 1782 agitated this country, and which, 'till your Parliament shall be reformed, must agitate this country for ever. We thought no Irishman—we were sure no honest Irishman would ever be in heart with Government, so long as the Parliament of this country shall be influenced by the Cabinet of England, and were convinced that the people would not be the more reconciled to a foreign yoke, because re-imposed by the help of their own countrymen; as long as they think this to be the case, we were convinced they will hate the Administration, and the Administration will hate them; on this principle we recollect the Parliament of this country pledged their lives and fortunes in 1782—though some seem to have thought better of it since, and are ready to pledge their lives and fortunes against this principle. We could not

not seriously believe, that the people of Ireland were ready to resist the legislative usurpation of the British Parliament, in whose station the greatness of the tyrant would have qualified the condition of the slave—and that the same people were now ready to prostrate themselves to the legislative usurpation of another body—a British Cabinet—a humiliated, and a tame tyrant. We recollected to have heard, that the friends of Ministry had lamented that England had not acceded to the American claim of exclusive legislature—and afterward attempted to re-establish British dominion, by influencing the American Assembly. We saw the Ministry pursue that very plan toward Ireland which they regretted they had not resorted to in the case of America. We need not repeat the particulars—but we saw the result to be on the mind of the people a deep-rooted and established discontent and jealousy, and we conceived that whatever conspiracies existed in any extent or degree, proceeded from that original and parent conspiracy in the Minister to subvert the Parliamentary Constitution by the influence of the Crown. It appeared to us, that the discontent and disturbance so created, was greatly increased by another cause, the treatment of his Majesty's Catholic subjects. It is the business of the Minister to observe the changes in the national spirit, as much as the changes of foreign combinations;—it was the misfortune of our Ministry that they never attended to those changes; they did not perceive that the religious principle and temper, as well as the political, had undergone on the Continent, in America, and in Ireland, a fundamental alteration; that the example of America had had prodigious effect on Europe; the example and doctrine of Europe had had no effect on America; they did not see that in consequence of that cause (there were other causes also) the Irish Catholic of 1792 did not bear the smallest resemblance to the Irish Catholic of 1692; that the influence of Pope, Priest, and Pretender were at an end.—Other dangers, and other influences might have arisen—new objects and new passions;

passions;—the mind of the people is never stationary—the mind of courts is often stagnant, but those new dangers were to be provided against in a manner very different from the provisions made against the old. Indeed, the continuation of the old system of safety approximated and secured the new danger—unfortunately our Ministers did not think so; they thought, they said, that the Irish Catholic, notwithstanding the American revolution, notwithstanding the French revolution, religious as well as political, was still the bigot of the last century—that with respect to him the age had stood still---that he was not impressed with the new spirit of liberty, but still moped under the old spirit of bigotry, and ruminated on the triumph of the cross, the power of Catholic Hierarchy, the riches of the Catholic Clergy, and the splendour of the Catholic Church. You will find the speeches of the Catholic opponents, particularly the Ministerial declaimers, dream on in this manner, and you will find from the publication of those speeches, and of the Catholics, that the latter had laid aside their prejudice, but that the Ministers had not: and one of the causes why those Ministers alledged that the Catholic mind had not advanced, was, that their own mind had stood still; the State was the bigot, and the People the philosopher. The progress of the human mind in the course of the last twenty five years, has been prodigious in Ireland. I remember when there scarcely appeared a publication in a newspaper of any degree of merit which was not traced to some person of note, on the part of Government or the Opposition; but now a multitude of very powerful publications appear from authors entirely unknown, of profound and spirited investigation. There was a time when all learning in Europe was confined to the Clergy---it then advanced among the higher orders of the Laity, and now it has gone among the People: and when once the powers of intellect are possessed by the great body of the nation, 'tis madness to hope to impose on that nation civil or religious oppression, particularly in those

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whose understandings have been stationary, though their power and riches have been progressive. The politics of the Castle, with the religious feuds of Ireland, had occupied and engrossed their mind---the eye of that mind or their intellectual vision had become of course subtle indeed, but extremely little---on the other hand, the politics of Europe and America had occupied the mind of the people; and therefore the mind of the people had become comprehensive---and when the former complained of the press, they complained of the superiority of the popular understanding. It appeared to us, that the best remedy was to raise the understanding of the great by enlarging the sphere of its actions; viz. Reforming the Parliament.---But to return.---The Ministry however thought proper to persist in hostility to the Catholic body on a false supposition of its bigotry: the consequence of such an attempt was, that the great body of the Catholics, I mean that part the most popular and energetic, disappointed, suspected, reviled and wearied, united with that other great body of reformers, and formed a Catholic, Presbyterian, and Protestant league, for the freedom of that religion, and the free and full representation of the people. Out of this league a new political religion arose, superseding in political matter, all influence of priest and parson, and burying for ever theological discord in the love of civil and political liberty. This is at present in all political matters the Irish religion. What is the Irish religion? Unanimity against Despotism.---Viewing the state of the country in this light, it appeared to us that the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and the proscription of the Catholics, were the fundamental causes of our discontent and jealousy: with these there existed other discontents distinct from these causes; without these causes insignificant, but with these causes creating great agitation and disturbance.

Two remedies occurred---coercion and conciliation: we opposed the former, and proposed the latter---I will trouble you with our reasons: we considered the system of coercion

cion would in the first instance destroy the liberty of the people—and in the second instance would subvert the authority and powers of Government. Here I beg to recur to what I have just observed on the necessity for those who administer a country to advert to the changes that take place in the temper and understanding of the people. Unfortunately the Ministry provided, for the purpose of making the people quiet and contented, a system of laws and proclamations, which had they been quiet before would have rendered them distracted. I need not repeat them—we all know them—we had the barren office of giving it fruitless opposition—we saw a spirit of reform had gone forth—it had conquered in America—it had conquered in France—both here and in England it existed, and was chiefly nourished and propagated by the abuses of our Government.—It appeared to us that the best way of starving that spirit was to remove its food; far otherwise the proposers of the plan of coercion;—they thought it better to feed that spirit and to cherish the abuses and encrease them—they hoped to fortify their Constitution against an epidemic distemper, by preserving uncured the old gouts and rheumatisms, and a host of other disorders. The power of limited monarchy was not to be preserved by constitutional power, which is its natural ally; but by despotic power, which is its natural death and dissolution. Instead of correcting the abuses of the State, they invented laws which were themselves an abuse, and proclamations which were an abuse also; and which greatly, though silently, propagated the new principle.—There are two ways by which a new principle spreads—one is by arms—and by martyrdom the other. The Mahometan religion was propagated by arms—it pleased Providence that the Christian religion should have been propagated by the latter.—See whether the unfortunate choice of our Ministers has not given to the new principle the benefit of both—they have fled before it abroad, and they have trampled on it at home, and given it the double recommendation of conquest and martyrdom. This consideration was

was one of my objections to persist in the war with France, on account of Brabant, and it is one of my objections to persist in a war with the Irish on account of venal boroughs. Had the Government instead of aggravating, restrained abuses, they would have put the State at the head of a spirit of Reform, which they could no longer resist, and could only hope to moderate—it was to such a policy, adopted by Queen Elizabeth, that the church of England owes principally what it retains of power and splendour preserved by the Government of the Country who took the lead in the Reformation—but ours fell into a different project—they armed cap-a-pie against a spirit which they could not confine by arms abroad nor by execution at home, and therefore instead of being at the head of popular measures, they were at the tail of them; in the Catholic question, in the place bill, in the pension bill, in every bill of a popular tendency—they resisted at first, they yielded at last, reluctantly and imperfectly, and then opposed, condemned and betrayed the principle of their own acquiescence—they agreed to a place bill for instance, and then they multiplied places manifold.—What is the bar bill or the bill that creates thirty new places for the Gentlemen of the Law? They agreed to the first Catholic bill, and then proscribed the person of the Catholic, and opposed his freedom in corporations; they had before agreed to the establishment of the independency of the Irish Parliament, and then had created a multitude of officers to make that independency a name. It is reported to have been said by some of the Ministers of England, that his Majesty's reign has been to Ireland a course of concession, and it was much a subject of wonder that the people of Ireland should persist in their dissatisfaction.—The answer to those Ministers is obvious, the concessions were extorted from Ministers by the perseverance of Opposition, and they were rendered abortive by the treachery of Ministers. The recognition of our Parliamentary Rights has been rendered abortive by unexampled exertions of bribery and corruption;

ruption ; the freedom of our trade by debt and war, and the elective privileges of our Catholics by a course of personal persecution, and corporate influence, and on the whole the benefit of Constitutional laws, by the administration of an unconstitutional Government. When the Ministers talk of their concessions to Ireland, do they know the concessions of Ireland to them ? do they know the debt of the war ? Continue that rate of expence, and the English wars of the next century will have the same effect as the English prohibition of the last—they will annihilate the trade of Ireland. But to return to the Administration. They relapsed into their violence when they recovered from their fears, and their system has been therefore occasionally violent and weak, never strong and uniform. It is an observation of Lord Bacon, that the fall of one of the Roman Emperors was not due to his tyranny nor his relaxation, but to both, and that the fluctuating system is ever fatal.—'Tis an observation of the same author, that the way to resist the progress of a new sect is to correct the abuses of the old ones. Unhappily our Ministers differed from Bacon---their system was faithful to no one principle, either of violence or concession. We objected that it could not now resort to unqualified violence without incurring all the objections belonging to a policy of submission coupled with a policy of violence, and that it could not hope to obtain the advantages appertaining to either. In pursuit of such a system the Ministry seemed to us to have lost not only their discretion but their temper---they seemed vexed with themselves for being angry---they seemed to become in a passion with themselves, because they had lost their temper with the people---in its struggle with popular rights, the State, like a furious wrestler, lost its breath as well as its dignity---as if an angry father should lose his temper with his child, in which case the old fool is most incorrigible : in the mean time the enemy seemed to understand our situation perfectly well, and relied on our expences for dissolving our credit, and our intemperance for dissolving our authority ; and at the very time
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when we were precipitating on such measures at home, we were receiving the most melancholy communications from abroad; we saw the Minister retreating from the enemy with as rapid a step as he advanced upon the people, going back, and back, and back, while the Democratic principle in Europe was getting on and on, like a mist at the heels of the countryman, small at first and lowly, but soon ascending to the hills and overcasting the hemisphere. Like the Government we wished to provide against this storm; like the Government we wished to disarm the people; as the best means of safety, we wished to disarm the people; but it was by the only method by which a free people can be disarmed—we wished to disarm the people of their grievances, and then their other arms, their less dangerous arms, the bayonet, and even the pike, would be retained for no other use but the use of the Government. A naked man oppressed by the State is an armed post. A few decent Bishops sent to the Tower against law produced the Revolution. Mr. Hamden and the four other innocent persons arraigned by Charles I. for high treason, produced the civil war;—that grey-coated man, or the green man sent on board a tender, or detained in prison without trial, he, too, will have his political consequence.—Sensible acts of violence have an epidemic force—they operate by sympathy—they possess the air as it were by certain tender influences, and spread the kindred passion through the whole of the community.—No wonder that difficulties have increased on the Government! Sad experiment!—to blood the magistracy with the poor man's liberty, and employ the rich like a pack of Government blood-hounds to hunt down the poor! Acts of violence like these put an end to all law as well as liberty, or the affectation and appearance of either.—In the course of the session we asked, To what end all this? and accompanied our question by stating the enfeebled resources of the country—we had mentioned at the beginning that the debt of the war had been

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about 5,000,000*l.* we were told that it was an error ; I wish it had been so ; but, on examination, that sum appeared somewhat about the debt of the war. And it will appear, if the present loans are filled, that the debt of the war will be near 8,000,000*l.* We submitted to the effects of the war on the resources of the country, and here again it was said we were in error ; I wish we had been so : But at what interest does the state borrow money ? an interest which between man and man would be usury, and nearly double the former rate. We mentioned the state of the revenue to have declined : Again we were contradicted : But what is the fact ? What business is now done on the quay ?—We did not wish to reveal the *arcana imperii* ; we stated nothing more than appeared from the terms proposed in the Gazette, from the returns of your Custom-house, and the printed resolutions touching the state of your manufactures : and we stated those public facts, not to damp the public confidence in the defence of the country, but to abate a little of that frantic confidence manifested in a determination, at the hazard of her safety, to go on with a system of domestic coercion, till the Minister should conquer the People—and of foreign war, till the same Minister should achieve another conquest at the risque of general ruin—till he should, sword in hand, recover Brabant : that Minister has found it a more pressing experiment to defend Cork than to take Flanders, as the Emperor has found it a safer experiment to abandon Flanders and Italy to save Vienna. We mentioned those our objections to such folly then, and I repeat them now, not to damp your zeal against a foreign enemy, but to confine the zeal of Government to one enemy, and to deprecate a second enemy,—our own people, and a civil war added to a foreign one.—Such was the system of coercion. To oppose a remedy is easy ; to propose one is difficult and grating ; it appeared to us that we should fail in duty and in candour, if, when we resisted the project of Government, we did not submit a plan of our own, and the only plan that appeared to

us to promise peace and prosperity was conciliation ; we proposed accordingly, the Emancipation of the Catholics, and a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament. To the first it was objected, that such a measure was irreconcilable with the safety of the King or the connexion with England. To the first objection we answered, that the capacities of three-fourths of the people should not be made a personal compliment to his Majesty, and that the pretence for taking away those capacities should not be the religion of his Majesty's allies, of his present subjects of Canada, of his late subjects of Corsica, of a considerable part of his fleet, and of a great part of his army ; that the principles that placed his family on the throne were those of Liberty ; and that his Irish subjects, if not convicted of felony, were entitled to the benefit of those principles : and that the Catholics have in justice and reason at least as good a right to Liberty as his Majesty has to the Crown. We observed, that the only impediment to the Catholic claim, as the law now stands, was the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence ; that to make these points, at such a time as this, matter of alarm to the safety of the King, was to give an air of ridicule to the serious calamities in which those his Ministers had involved him ; that such opinions, now abstracted from foreign politics, it was beyond the right or the power of the State to settle or punish ; that Kings had no right to enter into the tabernacle of the human mind, and hang up there the images of their own orthodoxy ; that the Catholics did not insist his Majesty should be of their religion ; that his Majesty had no right to exact that the Catholics should be of his ; that we know of no royal rule either for religion or mathematics ; and indeed the distance between divine and human nature being infinite, the proportion in that reference between the King and the subject is lost, and therefore in matters of religion they both are equally dark, and should be equally humble ; and when Courts or Kings assume a dictation on that subject, they as-

sume a familiarity with the Almighty, which is excess of blasphemy as well as of blindness. Our contemplation, the most profound on Divine Nature, can only lead us to one great conclusion, our own immeasurable inanity; from whence we should learn, that we can never serve God but in serving his creature; and to think we serve God by a profusion of prayer, when we degrade and proscribe his creature and our fellow-creature, was to suppose Heaven, like the Court of Princes, a region of flattery, and that man can there procure a holy connivance at his inhumanity, on the personal application of luxurious and complimentary devotion. Or, if the argument were to descend from religious to moral study, surely, surely Ministers should have remembered that the Catholics had contributed greatly to the expences of the war, and had bled profusely therein; that they themselves were much in debt to human nature, and should not lose that one opportunity of paying a very small part of it, merely by a restoration of loyal subjects to their own inheritance, their liberty. We suggested such a step as a measure of policy as well as justice, with a view to the strength and power of his Majesty, who was most improperly made a bar to such a concession. We suggested that his situation with regard to America—to Europe—to his allies and enemies, was critical; and that it was a mockery of that situation to suppose, that the worship of the Virgin Mary, or the doctrine of the real presence, constituted any part of the Royal difficulties; that there was no spectre to disturb the Royal imagination, but an existing substance—a gigantic form walked the earth at this moment, who smote Crowns with a hundred hands, and opened for the seduction of their subjects a hundred arms—Democracy; and we implored Ministers against such an enemy to ally and identify the King with all his people, without distinction of religion, and not to detach him from any part of them to make a miserable alliance with Priestcraft, which was a falling cause, and a superannuated folly. With regard to the danger offered to the connexion with England from the emancipation of the Catholics,

Catholics, we observed, that the argument was of a most dangerous and insulting nature, for it amounted to a declaration that the privileges of a vast portion of a nation should be sacrificed to another country; that it was not the old internal question, Whether the privileges of one part of Ireland should be sacrificed to the ambition of the other, but whether a vast description of the people of Ireland should be sacrificed to England? we observed, that in this part of the argument we need not recur to justice, we might rely on policy; and we asked, Was it the policy of England for the purity of Irish faith to make experiments on Irish allegiance? We did not wish to exaggerate---but were justified in making this supposition---suppose Ireland the seat of Government, and that for the better securing the safety of the King, here resident, and for the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland, that the Irish should incapacitate all the Protestants of England? the same affection which England, on that supposition, would afford to the Irish, the same affection she has now a right to expect from Ireland. When England has conquered France, possessed America, guided the councils of Prussia, directed Holland, and intimidated Spain; when she was the great western oracle, to which the nations of the earth repaired, from whence to draw eternal oracles of policy and freedom---when her root extended from continent to continent, and the dew of the two hemispheres watered her branches---then, indeed, we allowed with less danger, but never with justice, she might have made sacrifice to the claims of the Irish. I do not mean, we did not mean, to press a sense of the change which has taken place in the power of England, further than to prevent further changes more mortifying and decisive, and to impress on Great Britain this important conviction, that as Ireland is necessary to her, so is complete and perfect liberty necessary to Ireland, and that both islands must be drawn much closer to a free Constitution, that they may be drawn closer to one another. The second part of our plan of conciliation was the Reform of Parliament. The object of the plan was, to restore the House of Commons to the people.

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If the plan do not accomplish that, it is not the idea of the framers ; but no plan could satisfy those persons who wished to retain the credit of Reformers and the influence of Boroughs —no plan could satisfy those who complained when any vestige of borough influence was continued, that the Parliament was not reformed, and when the vestiges were swept away, that the Constitution was demolished---no plan could satisfy those who desired that the boroughs should be destroyed and preserved, and were willing to let the people sit in the House of Commons, provided the Aristocracy sat in their lap. It is in favour of the plan submitted, that, without any communication whatever with the other side of the water, it bears a strong and close resemblance to the plan proposed in the Parliament of Great Britain, and in that resemblance carries with it a presumption that it has foundation in common sense and common interest ; the objections to it, founded on the presumed antiquity of the borough system, hardly ventured to make their appearance ; examination into the subject had shown, that the greater part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of Stuart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subverting the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland ; that these were understated, when called abuses in the Constitution, that they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations on the Constitution by Kings whose family lost the Throne for crimes less deadly to freedom, and who in their Star-Chamber tyranny---in their Court of High Commission---in their Ship-money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an act so diabolical in intention, so mortal in principle, or so radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of boroughs, which is the fabrication of a Court Parliament, and the exclusion of a Constitutional Commons, and which is a subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the Constitutional Law-giver ; you banish that family for the other acts, and you retain that act by which they have banished the Commons.

It was objected with more success that the constitution of boroughs, however in theory defective, has worked well in fact; but it appeared to us that this was an historic error—we stated, in answer to that objection, that the birth of the borough inundation, was the destruction of liberty and property—that James I. the King who made that inundation, by that means destroyed the titles of his Irish subjects to their lands, without the least ceremony—the robbery of his liberty was immediately followed by the robbery of his property: for, rely on it, the King that takes liberty will very soon take away property—he will rob the subject of his liberty by influence; and then he may plunder him of his property by statute. There were at that time, the Historian adds, inferior grievances: What were they? martial law and extortion by the soldiers, in levying the King's duties—a criminal jurisdiction exercised by the Castle chamber, and a judicial power by the Council. These inferior and those superior grievances, amounted to no law at all. How could it happen, says the Historian, that the King could do all this with so small an army, seize the properties of the subjects, and transport the inhabitants? I will presume to conjecture;—the King had another instrument, more subtle and more pliable than the sword—and against the liberty of the subject, more cold and deadly, a Court instrument, that murders freedom without the mark of blood—palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her own colours, and in her name plants the dagger, a borough-Parliament. Under this borough system, the reign of James was bad, but the next was worse; the grievances which England complained of under Charles I. were committed in Ireland also.—Those measures I mean called the new Councils—they had been aggravated here by an attempt to confiscate the province of Connaught: there is extant a correspondence on the subject of Ireland, between the King and his Deputy, Lord Strafford, of a most criminal and disgusting nature; his Majesty begins by professing his general horror of
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the constitution—he proceeds to acknowledge his particular injuries to the Irish: he owned that he had defrauded the Irish of their promised graces, and he exposed his fears that they had a right in justice to ask what it was his interest, as it appeared to be his determination, to refuse. His Deputy—what does he do? he exceeds his royal master in his zeal against the pretensions of Ireland. A judicious Court sycophant will often flatter the Court of St. James, by Irish sacrifice, whether it is the Constitution, or the fair name of the country. He, the Deputy, had, said the Historian, two great objects—one was to fleece the people of Ireland, and the other was to cheat them—to get the money, and to elude the graces. He succeeded—Why? because there was another—a third instrument, worse than himself—a borough Parliament—that borough Parliament met—it voted six subsidies, and redressed nothing—this is virtue and public spirit, in comparison to what it did after—after committing these crimes, for which the Deputy justly lost his head—after having seized part of the province of Connaught—after inflicting martial law—monopolies—raising an army against law—and money to pay that army against law—after fining and confining against law—the borough Parliament vote that Deputy an extraordinary supply, and in the preamble of the act they pass on that Deputy an extraordinary panegyric, with such a thorough conviction of his iniquity and their own, that they after impeach that very Minister for those very acts, and record a protestation against the record of their panegyric, to give way to the meanness of another borough Parliament, who, on the return of his family, cancels the record of the protestation, to restore the force of the panegyric; massacre—confusion—civil war—religious fury—followed naturally, and of course. Here you see hatched and matured, the egg that produced the massacre, and all that brood of mortal consequences.

The principles of right were rooted out of the land by Government—and they were amazed at anarchy! the barriers

ries against inundation were removed by the Government—and they were astonished to be overwhelmed by a popular torrent! the principles of robbery were planted by the Deputy—and the Government were surprised at the growth of popular pillage! Had the country been left to a state of barbarous nature, she could not have been so shattered and convulsed, as when thus reduced to a state of barbarous art,—where the Government had vitiated that Parliamentary Constitution it professed to introduce; and had introduced, without professing it, influence—not civilization; had set one order of the nation in feud against the other—had tainted the gentry with the itch of venality (there was bribery, in those days, as well as violence), and had given them ideas of vice, but not days of refinement. I pass over a hundred and thirty years, a horrid vacuum in your history of borough Parliaments—save only as it has been filled with four horrid images, in the four-fold proscription of the religion, trade, of the Judicative, and Legislative authority of the country—by the commercial restrictions of William, the penal laws of William and Anne, and the declaratory act of the 6th of George: and I come to the boundary of the gulph, where the constitution begins to stir and live in an octennial bill—accompanied, however, with, and corrected by a court project of new parliamentary influence and degradation:—This project may be called a court plan for reforming borough parliaments—but reforming them, not on the principle of popular representation, but of a more complete and perfect exclusion and banishment of the Commons. The people had begun to form certain combinations with the Oligarchy—and, like weeds, began to grow a little about the doors and courts of their own Houses of Parliament—and, like weeds, it was thought proper to banish them; and as Government had before resorted to the creation of boroughs to overwhelm the Commons, so now they resorted to a new host of places and pensions, to overwhelm the Oligarchy. This is the famous half million, or the experiment of the Castle, to cure

cure the dependance of Parliament, and to prevent the formation of an Irish party against the domination of a British Cabinet. The Court could not then, like the 1st James and the 1st Charles, command to rise up a new fabric of boroughs, like a regal Pandemonium, to constitute a regal House of Commons: it therefore engendered a young and numerous family of places and pensions, to bribe, and to buy, and to split and shatter, and to corrupt the Oligarchy. Thus were the People once more excluded from the chance of influence in Parliament—and, as it were, shouldered from the threshold of their own house, by a host of placemen and pensioners, who had left the cause of the Country, to follow the fortunes of the Aristocracy—and now left the Aristocracy, to follow the fortunes of the Court—and then voted new loans and new taxes, to furnish wages for the double apostacy. You had now but little to give up—and that little you surrendered: you gave your provision-trade, by an embargo of 76, to the contractors—and you surrendered by new loans and taxes, your revenues to the Minister. You accompanied these sacrifices with the unvarying felicitations of borough Parliaments, on the virtues of Government, on the great and growing prosperity of your country and her commerce—which bring the poor progress of the country, your borough history, and that of your Chief Governors (a continuation of Rapine, they have been wittily called) to the catastrophe of 79, which found your state a bankrupt, and your community a beggar—and which induced Parliament to declare, that such has been the working of your borough system, and such the sense of that Parliament respecting it, that nothing but a free trade could save the country from impending ruin. I wish to speak with all honours of the Parliament at that moment; but must recollect the circumstances of that moment. Why did Parliament express itself in that manner, at that time, and demand its rights a short time after? because Parliament was, at those moments, in contact with the People—and it is the object of the Reform that she should

should continue in contact with the People always, and with the Minister never, except the People should be in contact with him : that Parliament declared, that nothing could save this country from impending ruin, except a free trade ; but in declaring that, it declared much more ; it protested against these borough Parliaments of a century, who had acquiesced in the loss of a free trade ; who had suffered the country to be reduced to that state of impending ruin, for want of that free trade ; and who had beheld the approaches of that ruin with a profusion of thanks, and a regular felicitation on the growing prosperity and flourishing commerce of a ruined country : and that Parliament did, by necessary inference, declare, to save the country from returning to that state of ruin, that it was absolutely necessary to reform the state and model of those borough Parliaments ; and, therefore, is an authority for a popular representation, as well as for a free trade : indeed, it not only proclaimed the necessity, but constituted it ; for in a short time after, it gave this country a new political situation ; wherein she ceased to be a province, and became a nation ; and, of course, it rendered those borough Parliaments that were adequate to the management of a province, absurd and inapplicable, when that province became a nation. A province must be governed with a view to the interest of another country—a nation with a view to her own interest ; a borough Parliament was, therefore, not only competent to govern a province, but the only kind of Parliament fit for the degradation of such a service ; and, for that very reason, it was the most unfit and inadmissible instrument in the government of a nation ; for the principle of its birth, being, in that case, opposite to the principle of its duty—the principle of its birth being court intrigue with touched and tainted contractors, and the principle of its duty being the defence of the nation against such intrigue and such contractor—the nature of Parliament being opposed to its duty, or its duty to its parent being in contradiction with its duty to its country—it follows, that the nation, in such a case, must be re-provincialized ; and the independency sup-
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posed to have been by them obtained, at that period, would have been only a transfer of dependency, from the Parliament of Great Britain to the Court of St. James's, in connivance and in concert with the borough-brokers of Ireland: therefore the independency of your Parliament, and the full and free representation of your People, are terms synonymous and commensurate. In opposition to this history, and these arguments, submitted in different shapes to the House, in support of Parliamentary Reform, it was replied, that the borough constitution had worked well, at least since 1782—for before no man will contend for it—and that the country had greatly advanced in commerce and in tillage; and, indeed, as far as the plowman and the weaver are concerned, too much cannot be said to justify against every charge of sloth, the character of the IRISHMAN—and to vindicate against a vulgar error, the native energy of a strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and FAITHFUL RACE OF MEN;—but as far as that boast goes to political measures, we cannot so well express our detestation of them as by recital: the propositions; the new taxes, without the trade; the new debt, notwithstanding the new taxes; the sale of the Peerage; the surrender of the East-India trade for the re-export trade; the refusal of the re-export trade, without such barter; the inequality of the channel trade; and the present provincial tariff suffered still to obtain between the two countries; 8,000,000*l.* of loan voted, on account of the war, without commercial compensation, liberality, or equality; the encrease of Offices, for the professed purpose of procuring a majority; another encrease of offices since, the place-bill; the bar-bill; the convention-bill; the gun-powder bill; the indemnity-bill; the second indemnity-bill; the insurrection-bill; the suspension of the habeas corpus; General Lake's proclamation, by order of Government; the approbation afforded to that proclamation; the subsequent proclamation of Government, more military and decisive; the order to the military, to act without waiting
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for the civil power ; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law ; the detaining them in prison, without bringing them to trial ; the transporting them without law ; burning their houses ; burning their villages ; murdering them ; crimes many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed, by the suppression of a free press, by military force ; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition his Majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them ; subverting the subjects' right to petition — and finally, the introduction of practices, not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and christian countries. — Such has been the working of the borough system ; nor could such measures have taken place but for that system. Such practices, however, have, in part, been defended as acts of power, necessary to prevent insurrection, and punish conspiracy : but it appeared to us, that in these practices Government was combating effects, and not causes ; and that those practices encrease these causes — and, therefore, will encrease those effects : that, admitting every charge of conspiracy and disaffection in its fullest extent — *that* conspiracy and disaffection are only effects of that great fundamental cause — that *parent* conspiracy, formed some years ago, to procure, by corruption, despotic power. That is the cause — and that cause acts according to the reception of its matter, and the tempers and constitutions to which it applies ; and therefore produces, in some men disloyalty, in some men republicanism, in some the spirit of reform — but in all, deep, great, and growing discontent. That is the cause and the poison which has made some men mad, and all men sick : and, though the government may not be able to restore reason to the mad, or loyalty to the republican — yet, if they mean to restore health to the sick — if they mean to restore content and confidence to all, to most, or to any considerable portion of the People, they must take away the poison — they must remove the cause — they must reform the Parliament. They have told us at
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some times, and at other times they have said the contrary, that it is a spirit of plunder, not politics, that is abroad: idle talk! whatever be the crime of the present spirit, it is not the crime of theft---if so, it were easily put down; no, it is a political, not a predatory spirit: it is the spirit of political reformation, carried to different degrees; to liberty in most instances---to ambition in others---and to power in others: and even in those cases where charged to be carried to confiscation, it is evident, from the charge itself, that confiscation looks to political vengeance, not to private plunder; and therefore the best way of laying that spirit, of whatever designs or intents, is to lay the pre-existing spirit of unlawful power and unconstitutional influence, that has frightened the People from Parliament, and has called to our world that other potent and uncircumscribed apparition---The way to defend your property is to defend your liberty; and the best method to secure your House against a Defender, is to secure the Commons House against a Minister. "There was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence, mixing in the public cause," said Lord Chatham to Mr. Flood, in a private conversation, as he told me, on the civil war between Charles I. and his people. "There was," said he, "ambition; there was sedition; there was violence; but no man will persuade me, that it was not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other." So here there may be conspiracy; there may be republicanism; there may be a spirit of plunder mixing in the public cause; but it is a public cause; and let no man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other. The Historian of these melancholy and alarming times, censuring, perhaps, both the Minister and the Opposition, and censuring us more for our relaxation than violence, will, if a candid man, close the sad account by observing, "that, on the whole, the cause of the Irish distraction of 97, was the conduct of the servants of Government, endeavouring to establish, by unlimited bribery, absolute power; that the

“ the system of coercion was a necessary consequence, and
 “ part of the system of corruption ; and that the two systems,
 “ in their success, would have established a ruthless and hor-
 “ rid tyranny, tremendous, and intolerable ! imposed on
 “ the Senate by influence, and the People by arms.”——

Against such excess of degradation ; against any excess whatsoever, we moved the middle, and, as we thought, the composing and the salutary measure ; a Reform of Parliament, which should give a Constitution to the People, and the Catholic Emancipation, which should give a People to the Constitution. We supported that measure by the arguments herein advanced ; and we defended ourselves by such, against a deluge of abuse, conveyed in the public prints against us, on account of that measure ; and I re-state those arguments, that, however the majority of the House of Commons might have been affected, your understanding may not be carried away by such a torrent of invective.—We urged those considerations, we might have added in our defence the dangers of invasion, and insurrection, panics most likely to incline the Minister to concur in such a measure, which measure seems to be our best, I might say our only defence against those dangers and those panics ; we might have added considerations of the immense expence attendant on the working, as it is called, of this Borough Constitution : which expence may be called the prodigality of misrepresentation, or the huge and gigantic profusion which the people supply for turning themselves out of Parliament. It is well known that the price of boroughs is from 14 to 16,000*l.* and has in the course of not many years increased one-third ; a proof at once of the extravagance and audacity of this abuse, which thus looks to immortality, and proceeds, unawed by the times and uninstructed by example ; and, in moments which are held alarming, entertains no fear, conceives no panic, and feels no remorse, which prevents the chapman, and dealer, to go on at any risque with his villainous little barter, in the very rockings and frownings of the elements,

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and makes him tremble indeed at liberty, but not at crimes. “ Suspend the habeas corpus act, take away the poor man, “ send the reformer to Newgate, imprison the North ; but “ for the trade of Parliament, for the borough-broker of that “ trade, don’t affect him ; give him a gun-powder act, give “ him a convention bill, give him an insurrection bill, give “ him an indemnity bill ; and, having saturated him with “ the liberty of his country, give him all the plunder of the “ state.” Such is the practical language of that great Noun of Multitude, the borough-broker, demurring on the troubles of the times, which he himself has principally caused, and lying at the door of a secretary full of sores and exactions. This sum I speak of, this 14 or 16,000l. must ultimately be paid by you : it is this increase of the price of boroughs which has produced the increase of the expence of your establishment, and this increase of the expence of your establishment, which has produced this increase for the price of your boroughs ; they operate alternately like cause and effect, and have within themselves the double principle of rapid ruin ; so that the people pay their members as formerly, but pay them more, and pay them for representing others, not themselves, and giving the public purse, full and open, to the Minister, and rendering it back empty to the people. Oh, unthrifty People ! whoever surrendered that invaluable right of paying your own representatives, rely on it, the people must be the prey if they are not the paymasters. To this public expence we are to add the monstrous and bankrupt waste of private property, becoming now so great that honest men cannot in any number afford to come into Parliament : the expence amounts to a child’s portion, and the child must be wronged, or the father sold or excluded. Thus, in the borough constitution, is private virtue and public set at variance, and men must renounce the service of their country or the interest of their family ; from this evil, the loss of private fortune, a much greater loss is likely hereafter to take place, the loss of talent in the public service : for this great expence must in the end
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work out of Parliament all unstipendiary talent that acts for the people, and supply it by stipendiary talent that acts against them. What man of small fortune, what man of great fortune can now afford to come into the House of Commons, or sustain the expence of a seat in Parliament, or of a contested election? and what open place, except in a very few instances, (the city is one of them) where the electors return without cost to their representatives? I know some who have great talents and have exercised them in the public service, are disposed to decline situations, to the honest individual so expensive, and to the public now so unprofitable. To this I am to add a greater evil than those already stated, the expence of morals. What shall we say for the morals of a country; how many years purchase would you give for her virtue, whose Ministry founded its authority on moral depravity, and formed a league and covenant with an oligarchy to transfer for hire, virtually and substantially, the powers of legislation to the Cabinet of another kingdom? We inveigh against other combinations—what sort of a combination is this? This, I know not by what name to approach it, shoots its virus into the heart and marrow of the higher orders of the country. Make your People honest, says the Court—make your Court honest, say the People; it is the higher classes that introduce corruption: thieving may be learned from poverty; but corruption is learned from riches; it is a venal court that makes a venal country; that vice descends from above; the peasant does not go to the castle for the bribe, but the castle candidate goes to the peasant; and the castle candidate offers the bribe to the peasant, because he expects in a much greater bribe to be repaid by the Minister; thus things go on; 'tis impossible they can last:—the trade of Parliament ruins every thing; your Ministers rested their authority entirely on that trade, till now they call in the aid of military power to enforce corruption by the sword; the laws did, in my judgment, afford the Crown sufficient power to administer the country, and preserve the connexion with

Great Britain ; but our Ministers have despised the ordinary tract, and plain, obvious, legitimate and vulgar bonds between the King and the subject ; they have resorted to the guinea and the gallows, as to the only true and faithful friends of Government, and try to hang where they cannot corrupt ; they have extended the venal stipendiary principle to all constituted authorities ; they have given the taint to the grave Corporator as well as the Senator, and have gone into the halls and streets to communicate the evil to the middling and orderly part of the Society : they have attempted the independency of the bar. I have great objections to the bar-bill —and my objections are great in proportion to my regards for the profession, whose signal services to the cause of liberty must prove to every man's conviction how valuable the acquisition, and how inestimable the loss of that profound and acute profession must be to the cause of a country such as this was formerly, where the rule of government was the law of the land. We have heard of complaints against systems of disorganization ; What is this system ? Is not the corruption of organized bodies their dissolution ? Is not their perversion worse than their dissolution ? What shall we say of the attempts of Ministers on Sheriffs, and the appointment of that Magistrate with a view to Parliamentary influence only ; and to the prevention of legal aggregate meetings ; and the suppression of the public sentiment ? These things must have an end ; this disorganization of constituted authorities by court influence must have an end. I am not superstitious ; but I know that States, like individuals, are punished ; it is to prevent their punishment we essayed their reformation ; they are punished collectively, and they are punished slowly, but they are punished : where the people are generally or universally corrupt, the society comes to a state of dissolution ; where that corruption is confined to those who administer the country, that power must come to a state of dissolution ; but in order to prevent the society from partaking of that corruption and consequence of that corrupt dissolution, it is necessary that the power that administers the country should be

be brought speedily and radically to a state of reformation : the best systems are not immortal : Are the worst ? Is the trade of Parliament immortal ? Have the best systems perished ? and shall this be impassable and everlasting, infinite in its duration, as it is unbounded in its profligacy ? What was the case of Carthage ; of Rome ; and of the court of France ? What is the case of the court of England ? Sitting under the stroke of Justice for the American war ; paying pains and penalties in augmented burdens and diminished glory : that influence which has depressed her liberty has destroyed her energy, and rendered her as unfit to preserve her empire as her freedom. As long as the battle was between the Court and the Constitution, the former was perfectly equal to subdue her own people ; but when she was to combat another people, she was unequal to the task ; and for the very reason, because she had seduced and debased her own. The corruption of the Court has rendered England vincible, and has ended her, in her present state of national degradation, with an insensibility of glory ; the result and evidence of mental degeneracy. I remember to have heard Lord Chatham, in one of his speeches on the Middlesex election, observe, that in his ministry the object of the Court of England was the conquest of the French ; and that now it was the conquest of Mr. Wilkes. The pursuing such-like conquests as those over Mr. Wilkes, has enabled the French to establish a conquest over the English. The King, who is advised to conquer the liberty of his subjects, prepares those subjects for a foreign yoke. The Romans were conquered at Cannæ, first by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal : the English have been conquered, first by the Minister, and afterwards by the French. Those Romans were finally conquered by the barbarians of the North, because they had been previously conquered by the Princes of the Empire ; and then the half-armed savage, with the pike and the pole, came down on the frontiers, and disposed of the masters of the world as of the stock of the land ; the gouty stock of the rich, and the mute stock of the People.

It is now sixty years since the adoption of the project to supply in corruption what the Chief magistrate lost in prerogative; the loss of thirteen provinces; of 130,000,000l.—to lose these provinces, the loss of our station in Europe, the loss of 130 millions, to lose that station; to place the crown of England as low in Europe as in America; and to put France at the head of Europe instead of Great Britain, while her people crouch under a load of debt and taxes, without an empire to console, or a constitution to cover them, has been the working of that project; it has worked so well as to have worked the people out of their liberty, and his Majesty out of his empire; to leave him as little authority in Europe, as his people in parliament; and to put the King at the feet of France, as the people are put at the feet of the King: public credit has also fallen a victim to this its success, its last great conquest after liberty and empire. In this rapid decline no one Minister has been punished or even questioned; and an empire and a constitution have been lost without one penal example; and in a war unparalleled in expence and disgrace, and attended with the grossest and rankest errors, closing the account of blood with proclamations of insolvency—no murmur from the Parliament of either countries—no murmur! Far from enquiry or complaint, confidence has uniformly attended defeat and dishonour. The Minister's majorities are become as numerous as his disgraces, and so gigantic have been his encroachments on the independency of the Constitution, that they can only be matched by the gigantic encroachment of the enemy on the empire. In short, so perfectly do the people appear to be driven out of all footing in the Constitution, that when his Majesty is driven out of almost all footing in Europe, and a question is made by the people, Whether the Minister of these disgraces and dishonours shall be dismissed? they have their majority at hand to support them. Against this inundation of evil we interposed Reform; we were convinced of its necessity from the consideration of corruption at home; we were confirmed in that conviction from the consideration of revolutions

revolutions abroad. We saw the regal power of France destroyed by debts, by expence, and by abuses; we saw the Nobility interpose for those abuses only to encumber the Throne with their ruins, and to add revolution of property to revolution of government; we saw in the American revolution that a people determined to be free cannot be enslaved; that British government was not equal to the task, even in plenitude of empire, supported by the different governments of the provinces, and by the sad apostacy of the hapless loyalist; that loyalist is a lesson to the rich and great to stand by their country in all situations; and that in a contest with a remote Court, the first post of safety is to stand by the country, and the second post of safety is to stand by the country, and the third post of safety is to stand by the country; in that American contest we saw that Reform, which had been born in England and banished to America, advanced like the Shepherd Lad in Holy Writ, and overthrew Goliath. He returned riding on the waves of the Atlantic, and his spirit moved on the waters of Europe. The royal ship of France went down—the British man of war labours—your vessel is affected—throw your people over-board, say your Ministers, and ballast with your abuses—throw your abuses over-board, we said, and ballast with your people. We recollect these islands were formerly placed in a sea of despotism—we saw they were now two kingdoms in a republican ocean, situated between two great revolutions, with a certainty of being influenced more or less by one or by both. We asked ourselves, If it was possible that the American revolution could have had such effect on France, and that the American and French revolutions would have no effect on these countries? The questions that affect the world are decided on the theatre of the world. The great question of popular liberty was fought on the great rivers of Europe and America—it remained to moderate what we could not govern—and what method so safe to moderate popular power as by limited Monarchy?

And

And what method remains to limit the Monarchy of these kingdoms (it has now no limits) as by reforming Parliament? What method I say to prevent a Revolution but a Reformation?—and what is that Reformation of Parliament but the restoration to the people of Self-legislation?—without which there is no liberty, as without Reform no Self-legislation. So we reasoned. The government of a country may be placed in the hands of one man, and that one man may reside in another kingdom, and yet the people may be free and satisfied; but to have the Legislature of the country, or what is the same thing, the influencing and directing spirit of the Legislature placed out of the country, to have not only the King but the Legislature an absentee—to have not only the head but the heart disposed of in another country, such a condition may be a disguised, but it is unqualified and perfect despotism. Self-legislation is life, and has been sought for, as for being. It was that principle that called forth resistance to the House of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the House of Hanover, when the people stood Sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects; for Kings are but satellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies. It was with a view therefore to restore liberty, and with a view also to secure and immortalize Royalty, by restoring to the people self-legislation, we proposed Reform. A principle of attraction about which the King and people would spin on quietly and insensibly in regular movements, and in a system common to them both. “No—no,—no,—the half million, said the Minister, that “is my principle of attraction. Among the rich I send my “half million, and I dispatch my coercion among the peo- “ple.” His Devil went forth; he destroyed Liberty and Property—He consumed the Press; he burned houses and villages; he murdered, and he failed. “Recal your mur- “derer, we said; and, in his place, dispatch our messenger; “try conciliation. You have declared you wish the People “to rebel; to which we answer, God forbid! Rather let
“ them

“ them weary the royal ear with petitions, and let the dove
 “ be again sent to the King; it may bring back the olive :
 “ and as to you, you mad Ministers! who pour in regi-
 “ ment after regiment, to dragoon the Irish, because you
 “ have forfeited their affections; we beseech, we supplicate,
 “ we admonish, reconcile the People; combat revolution by
 “ reform, let blood be your last experiment.” Combat the
 spirit of Democracy by the spirit of Liberty, the wild spirit
 of Democratic Liberty by the regulated spirit of Organized
 Liberty, such as may be found in a limited Monarchy,
 with a free Parliament; but how accomplish that, but
 by reforming the present Parliament, whose narrow and
 contracted formation, in both countries, excludes popu-
 lar representation; *i. e.* excludes self-legislation; *i. e.* ex-
 cludes liberty; and whose fatal compliances, the result
 of that defective representation, have caused, or counte-
 nanced, or sanctioned, or suffered, for a course of years,
 a succession of measures, which have collected upon us
 such an accumulation of calamity; and which have finally, at
 an immense expence, and through a sea of blood, stranded
 these kingdoms on a solitary shore; naked of empire, naked
 of liberty, and naked of innocence; to ponder on an abyss,
 which has swallowed up one part of their fortunes, and
 yawns for the remainder.

“ May the Kingly power, that forms one estate in our
 Constitution, continue for ever! but let it be as it professes
 to be, and as, by the principles and laws of these countries,
 it should be, one estate only; and not a power constituting
 one estate, creating another, and influencing a third.

“ May the Parliamentary Constitution prosper! but let it
 be an operative, independent, and integral part of the Con-
 stitution; advising, confining, and sometimes directing the
 Kingly power.

“ May the House of Commons flourish! but let the Peo-
 ple be the sole author of its existence, as they should be the
 great object of its care.

“ May

“ May the connexion with Great Britain continue! but let the result of the connexion be—the perfect freedom, in the fairest and fullest sense, of all descriptions of men, without distinction of religion.”

To this purpose we spoke, and speaking this to no purpose, withdrew. It now remains to add this supplication:—However it may please the ALMIGHTY to dispose of Princes, or of Parliaments; **MAY THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE BE IMMORTAL!**

HENRY GRATTAN.

DUBLIN, August 7th, 1798.

The following EPISTLE being much sought after, it is now given to satisfy the public curiosity:

MR. GRATTAN has seen a very gross, a very unprovoked, and a very ludicrous performance written against him and signed Patrick Duigenan: Mr. Grattan does not explain his conduct to individuals; the Statute Book and the Journals of the House of Commons are open. Were he to make his public conduct a subject of explanation, it would not be to such a person as Doctor Duigenan; but as the above-mentioned attack mixes in its folly much personal rudeness, Mr. Grattan judges it not wholly beneath him to take some sort of notice of it; and he is very sorry to be forced to observe, that the author has departed from the Manners and Language of a Gentleman, and has thought proper to adopt a strain so false, so vile, and so disgusting, as to render Mr. Duigenan a Public Buffoon, too low and ludicrous to give an affront or make an apology.

P. S. Mr. Grattan remains in Dublin for three days, and is to be heard of at Kearns's Hotel, Kildare-street.

Extract

*Extract from the Report of the Secret Committee
of the House of Lords.*

FRIDAY, AUG. 3, 1798.

John Hughes, of Belfast, sworn.

WHILST he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilson at the Brazen-Head.—Next day Neilson called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's, to breakfast; Sweetman was then in prison, but Neilson lived in his House.—Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him.—When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had something to say to Mr. Grattan in private, and desired him to take a walk in the domain.—Neilson however introduced him to Mr. Grattan first; and Mr. Grattan ordered a servant to attend him to show him the grounds.—He returned in about half an hour.—Went into Mr. Grattan's library—Neilson and Grattan were there together—Grattan asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the North; how many families had been driven out, and how many houses burned by the government or the Orange Men?—Grattan said, he supposed he was an United Irishman; he said he was.—Grattan asked him how many United Irishmen were in the province? he said he reckoned 126,000.—Grattan asked how many Orange men there were? he said about 12,000—Grattan made no particular answer.—Neilson and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage which was at Enniskerry; he asked Neilson what had passed between Grattan and him.—Neilson evaded the question, said generally, that he had gone to Grattan to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had sworn him.—That Grattan promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday.

Q. You have said that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson at his house at Tinnehinch, in

S

April

April last—Recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact?

A. I certainly can—About the 28th of April last, I went to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnehinch with Samuel Neilson; on going into the house we were shewed into the library.—Neilson introduced me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and left them alone for full half an hour.—I saw a printed Constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

Q. Can you say whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the Constitution of United Irishmen?

A. I can—for he asked me some questions about it—He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the North—When we were going away, I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following;—and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison; and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan.

Neilson and I breakfasted that morning at the country-house of Sweetman, who was then in prison, and went from thence to Mr. Grattan's in Sweetman's carriage.

THURSDAY, AUG. 9th, 1798.

Samuel Neilson of Belfast, sworn.

Q. Have you had any interviews with Mr. Grattan since you were liberated from confinement?

A. I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April 1798.—I either shewed Mr. Grattan the last Constitution of the Society of United Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward—I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond.

By a letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, by Samuel Neilson, immediately after his examination, he wishes to correct his evidence, by stating, that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in company with Mr. John Hughes, and that they both went there in Mr. Sweetman's chaise.

F I N I S.

PART II.

A
FAIR REPRESENTATION
OF
THE POLITICAL STATE
OF
IRELAND;

IN A COURSE OF STRICTURES ON TWO
PAMPHLETS,

ONE ENTITLED

‘ THE CASE OF IRELAND RE-CONSIDERED; ’

THE OTHER ENTITLED

‘ CONSIDERATIONS ON THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
IN THE YEAR 1799,—IRELAND; ’

WITH

Observations on other modern Publications on the Subject of
AN INCORPORATING UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND,

Particularly on a Pamphlet entitled

‘ THE SPEECH OF LORD MINTO IN THE HOUSE
OF PEERS, APRIL II, 1799. ’

By PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.

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A

FAIR REPRESENTATION
OF THE
PRESENT POLITICAL STATE
OF
IRELAND.

AN Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland is a Measure, the magnitude and importance of which have not only engaged the most serious consideration of the subjects of the British Empire; but have attracted the attention of many of the other states of Europe, as well friends as enemies.

Although I have been for many years the avowed friend of the measure, and in the year 1793 declared in the Irish House of Commons my settled opinion on the subject, and was then the only man who did so, stating at the same time some of the reasons on which my opinion was founded; and although I have, by the occurrences of every day since, been more and more confirmed in my sentiments upon it, and convinced not only of the expediency, but of the necessity of the measure; yet I do not mean to trouble my readers with any arguments on the subject:

my design in the present publication is, to expose the base falsehoods and malignant misrepresentations of the State of Ireland, contained in some pamphlets which have lately appeared, professedly written on the subject of the Union, but in truth for a very different purpose; and to add a few observations on other pamphlets published in England, as the substance of Speeches spoken in the British Houses of Parliament, on the subject of an Incorporating Union, by men in the highest stations in Britain; from which it would seem, that these great men entertained very erroneous ideas of the Present State of Ireland, and of the Strength, Views, and Interests of the different classes of its inhabitants: and I am not without hope that I may, by fair and honest representations, conduce to the success of a measure, which has for many years been the object of all my feeble exertions in the political world.

In England the project of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland has been entertained with an almost universal approbation; the good sense of the nation has clearly pointed out to every honest mind, the manifest advantages to the British Empire in general of such a measure; it has been there opposed only by a handful of Jacobins. In Ireland the case is different; it has been there opposed by many men of great loyalty, abilities, and rank, and has given rise to much discontent and dissension among persons of the first political influence. It is remarkable, however, in Ireland, that all traitors and Jacobins are unanimous in their reprobation of the measure, while the well-affected are divided in their opinions, some (I think the majority) approving, and others disapproving of it. Perhaps I may be in some measure able in the conclusion to account for this difference of opinion

4

among

among the Irish Loyalists ; at present, however, it is sufficient to remark, that their dissension has given an advantage to the Jacobins which they have eagerly availed themselves of. All their conspiracies detected, their false treasonable libels exposed and confuted, their rebellion suppressed, their French allies chased out of the ocean, they lay grovelling on the earth, disabled, dismayed, and dejected, till the heat of this contest between their conquerors on the subject of the Union again vivified them, as the heat of the sun does the insects on a dunghill ; again the buzz of these hornets was heard in every part of the nation ; and of all their nests, Popery sent forth the busiest and most numerous swarms.

A class of writers of that persuasion have of late been indefatigable both in England and Ireland, in publishing the most audacious falsehoods respecting Irish Protestants, their religious and political conduct, principles, numbers, strength, and influence ; nor are their falsehoods less daring and notorious respecting the same qualities in the Irish Romanists, debasing and vilifying the first class, and magnifying the last, with the most singular contempt of truth. No artifice of malignant misrepresentation, of slander, of degradation on the one side, or of applause, celebration, aggrandizement, and exaggeration on the other, has been omitted.

These writers never entertained the least hope that their calumnies would gain any credit in Ireland ; their falsehood was too notorious there : they published them for the meridian of England, where the ignorance of the bulk of the nation of the real state of Ireland might cause a temporary belief of fictions so boldly and so impudently

stated: this temporary belief in the present crisis they knew they could turn to the advantage of the political pursuits of their sect; because it would naturally incline the leading men in the British Administration to favour their ruinous claims in the negotiation of an Union of the two nations, and enable the Irish Romanists to obtain a support in the treaty for pretensions radically inimical to every Protestant government, but more particularly so, where part of the sovereignty is a popular assembly; and this treaty might be brought to a conclusion before the British nation should be apprized on what a rotten foundation their pretensions were erected.

The degradation and abuse of the Irish Protestants by these Romish writers, and vaunts of the strength and importance of their own sect, were particularly adapted to alienate the minds of the British Protestants from their brethren in Ireland, and to induce them to acquiesce, perhaps to assist, in the subversion of the Protestant establishment in that kingdom, which if they can once effect, they very justly consider that the scheme of the Separation of the two countries will be more than half accomplished, though a treaty for an Union shall be concluded: the Protestants of Ireland, as the Romanists well know, composing the principal links of the chain of connexion between the two nations.

I should have left these malicious Romish fables to merited contempt and oblivion, nor would I have condescended to have taken the slightest notice of them, had I not perceived, from reading the substance of certain Speeches of very eminent personages, delivered in the British Houses of Lords and Commons, lately published on
the

the subject of Union, that the gross falsehoods and misrepresentations of these Romish writers had been adopted by these great men, and that they had been so far duped by them, as to repeat them in the British Senate, and to reason upon them, as if they had been facts; grounding some of their arguments in favour of an Union on such deceitful phantoms conjured up by these magicians of fraud and malice, and deserting the powerful, convincing, and irrefragable arguments for an Incorporating Union, grounded on the situation and present connexion of the two islands, the state of Europe in general, and the manifest benefits which must necessarily accrue to each island in particular, and to the British empire in general, from such an Union; and thereby raising in the breasts of all the Protestants of that empire, the faithful subjects of his Majesty, the most alarming apprehensions of innovation in their constitution both in church and state, and rendering Irish Protestants particularly, in whom is for the present vested, exclusively, the whole political power of that kingdom, disinclined to an Union, by giving them cause to suspect that such an Union is projected solely for the depression of their religion in Ireland, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins.

Two of these pamphlets, manifestly the productions of Romish writers, though they have concealed their names, I shall particularly notice, because they contain a general collection of all the falsehood and misrepresentation respecting the state of Ireland, the numbers, physical and political strength, the influence, principles, and designs of the different classes of its inhabitants, which have been published in all the pamphlets, magazines, reviews, annual registers, newspapers, &c. by Romish writers and their allies, the Infidels, Republicans, and Jacobins, from

the time Mr. Edmund Burke, the modern apostle of Popery, began his operations for the subversion of the Protestant religion in Ireland, to the present day. One of these pamphlets is entitled, ‘*The Case of Ireland Reconsidered, in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled, “Arguments for and against an Union considered.”*’ The other is entitled, ‘*Considerations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799—Ireland.*’ The author of the first of these performances pretends to argue against the Union of the two kingdoms; the author of the second, to support it with the utmost zeal; but the real purpose of both is, to degrade, vilify, and traduce the Protestant, and magnify, aggrandize, and elevate the Romish inhabitants of Ireland, by every species of falsehood, misrepresentation, and malice.

The reputed author of the first is a Romish gentleman of a competent landed estate in Ireland,—

I have stated this gentleman to be a Romanist; indeed he states himself, in p. 58 of his pamphlet, to be so; and I may be perhaps accused of inconsistency in supposing any man, instituted as he has been, to be a Romanist, which implies his being a Christian: to clear myself of any imputation of that kind, it is necessary that I should briefly explain my meaning, which I cannot do better than by nearly copying part of Swift's character of the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Wharton, in his History of the Four last Years of Queen Ann: he there observes, that the Earl's father was a rigid Presbyterian, that the Earl adopted his father's principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its room, but that in all other respects he was a firm Presbyterian. Now the gentleman's father I am writing of was a rigid Romanist; he dropt his father's religion, and took up no other in its room, but in all other respects he is a firm Romanist. And such a character is not singular; I have wasted some attention on several persons bred Romanists, who have conformed to the Protestant religion, and who have attained honourable, confidential, and lucrative appointments by their conformity; and on others bred in that persuasion, who both in theory and practice have professed Deism; and scarce ever knew one of them, who, in all political pursuits of that sect, did not prove himself to be a firm Romanist: some of them, in whose breasts a few half-smothered sparks of Christianity still glimmered,

glimmered, have had them kindled into a sort of lambent flame of devotion by the unequivocal symptoms of approaching death, and they have uniformly died in the Romish persuasion.

The author of the second pamphlet I have mentioned is not ascertained ; many have been the candidates, proclaimed by the posterior trumpet of Fame, for the eminent turpitude of being the parent of this detestable production. The author of the first endeavours to conceal the natural deformity of falsehood and malice, by clothing them in something of a gentlemanly garb ; the author of the second aggravates that natural deformity, by arraying them in all the shaggy horrors of the savage : his unrelenting malignant abuse of Irish Protestants, from the beginning to the end of his performance, sufficiently demonstrates his political creed at least to be the same with that of the author of the first pamphlet. But I have perhaps detained the reader too long by personal remarks on these two authors ; I will therefore now proceed to examine the contents of their pamphlets.

The author of the first grounds all his arguments, for advancing Irish Romanists to an equality of political power in the British empire in general with their Protestant fellow-subjects, on two positions. The first and principal is, *that men sincerely attached to the whole Romish creed may be as good and faithful subjects of the British empire as Protestants.* The second is, *that property by the British Constitution entitles the possessors to political power in proportion to the property, and that it is therefore unconstitutional to exclude Romanists from a share of political power in the state proportioned to their property.* These are the two grand

Commencement of the
Strictures on the
pamphlet
entitled,
The Case
of Ireland
re-considered.

grand pillars on which he proposes to rebuild the gaudy palace of Romish tyranny and usurpation in the British empire, at the same time not neglecting to prop it with numberless buttresses of menaces, slanders, malice, falsehood, sophistry, and deceit.

His argument on the first of these propositions he introduces in the following modest manner :

‘ The next is a very old objection, *which I never could understand how any well-informed man could make twice.*

‘ The most numerous religious sect (i. e. Romanists) does not acknowledge the supremacy of the state, but professes to be subject to a foreign jurisdiction. Their religion could not be established without destroying the constitution, which is founded on the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and the exclusion of foreign interference and jurisdiction.’

After thus stating the objection, and with no small degree of petulance observing that no well-informed man could support it, or urge it twice, he argues thus: ‘ This may be an objection to their having a religious establishment, but not to their being admitted to a share in the Legislature, the King and Peers being Protestants, and (property being the basis of representation) nine-tenths of the House of Commons. *Romanists do not deny the sole right of the state to manage the concerns, establishment, faith, and discipline of the Church of England; but they do not admit the King of England to be spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church, nor do the Presbyterians admit him to be the head of theirs.* This was not a rea-
son

‘ son for excluding the Scotch from a share in the legis-
 ‘ lature of the country they were united to ; why should
 ‘ it exclude the Irish ? The spiritual authority which
 ‘ the Romish Church possesses has no sanction, no co-
 ‘ ercive power in this life, and can in no way come in
 ‘ contact with civil existence. *The Pope nominates the*
 ‘ *Irish Romish bishops*, but this gives him no real or essen-
 ‘ tial jurisdiction in the Irish state ; he and the whole
 ‘ Roman Catholic Church have not in the Irish state,
 ‘ nor pretend to have, the power of the meanest vestry.
 ‘ Cujas, a French lawyer, and Cardinal Fleury, have
 ‘ declared, that the Pope, nor the whole Church to-
 ‘ gether, cannot inflict any coercive punishment on any
 ‘ man, whatsoever his crimes may be, unless the Em-
 ‘ peror gives him power to do it. The power which
 ‘ *Popes have been accused of arrogating* over the princes of
 ‘ Europe was entirely foreign to their spiritual authority,
 ‘ and to the Roman Catholic religion. In no country in
 ‘ the world can any tribunal exist deriving from the
 ‘ Roman Catholic religion, or any sentence be enforced
 ‘ affecting a man in any way whatsoever in his liberty,
 ‘ life, property, or any part of his civil or natural ex-
 ‘ istence, without the permission of the Sovereign of
 ‘ that country : such is the doctrine of Spain, Portugal,
 ‘ and all the Roman Catholic countries in the world.
 ‘ Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, as well
 ‘ as the Statutes of Præmunire, which secured ecclesiastical
 ‘ liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parliaments. If a foreign
 ‘ jurisdiction exist, to that consent, and not to the Roman Catholic religion, of
 ‘ which it is no *inherent* part, are the inconveniencies of it
 ‘ to be ascribed.’ All this the author concludes with an
 apposite and most delightful allusion, purloined from
 Monsieur

Monſieur Voltaire, with a trifling alteration ; to wit,
 ‘ Philoſophy enters as much into the common concerns
 ‘ of life as divinity. It would be a ſtrange objection to
 ‘ the ſyſtem of Aristotle or Copernicus, that it was a
 ‘ foreign interference.’ Bravo !

Before I proceed to the expoſure of this diffuſive kind
 of argument, partly falſe and partly ſophiſtical, it will
 be neceſſary to inſert here the *Oath of Supremacy*, which
 all Romaniſts abſolutely reſuſe to take, and have done ſo
 ſince the firſt framing of it ; and alſo an Extract from
 the Decrees of a general Council, the deciſions of which
 all Romaniſts now hold as articles of faith, immutable
 and irreverſible, not being the decrees of Popes, but of
 their univerſal church ; the Oath taken by Romiſh Bi-
 ſhops at their conſecration : and I ſhall alſo add a few ex-
 tracts from the recent publications of their moſt authentic
 writers reſpecting the preſent immutable Articles of the
 Romiſh Creed.

The Oath of Supremacy is as follows :

‘ I — do ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor,
 ‘ deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damn-
 ‘ able doctrine and poſition, that Princes excommuni-
 ‘ cated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the
 ‘ See of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their
 ‘ ſubjects, or by any other perſon whatſoever : and I do
 ‘ declare, that no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Po-
 ‘ tentate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power,
 ‘ ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or
 ‘ ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God.’

Extract from the third Chapter of the fourth Council of Lateran, held under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, translated into English.

‘ We excommunicate and anathematize all heresy,
 ‘ raising itself up against the holy, orthodox, catholic
 ‘ faith, which we have above set forth, condemning all
 ‘ heretics, of whatsoever titles, having divers faces, but
 ‘ connected and knitted together by their tails; for in
 ‘ respect to the vanity of their pretensions they agree in
 ‘ the same thing.

‘ We leave the condemned to *condign punishment* by
 ‘ the present secular powers or their magistrates, such of
 ‘ them as are clergymen being first degraded: the
 ‘ goods of such of them as are laics being *confiscated*;
 ‘ of such as are clergymen, applied to the use of the
 ‘ churches of their respective cures.

‘ But we decree, that such as are only suspected of
 ‘ heresy be struck with the sword of excommunication,
 ‘ till they shall prove their innocence respectively, ac-
 ‘ cording to the nature of the suspicion and the quality
 ‘ of each person, by a proper purgation; and let them
 ‘ be avoided by all persons till they shall make sufficient
 ‘ satisfaction: and if they shall continue excommuni-
 ‘ cated for the space of one year, let them be considered
 ‘ as condemned heretics.

‘ Let all secular powers, whatsoever be the nature
 ‘ and rank of their respective offices, be admonished,
 ‘ persuaded, and, if necessary, *compelled*, by ecclesiastical
 ‘ censures, that as they desire to be reputed and esteemed
 ‘ faithful,

' faithful, they publicly take an oath, that they will, to
 ' the utmost of their power, endeavour *to exterminate* all
 ' such as shall be denounced heretics by the church, out
 ' of all their dominions and places subject to their jurif-
 ' diction; and let them take this oath respectively, the
 ' moment they shall be invested with either spiritual or
 ' temporal power.

' But if any temporal Lord shall neglect to purge his
 ' dominions of such heretical corruption, after being
 ' required and admonished by the Church, by his Me-
 ' tropolitan and his other provincial Bishops so to do,
 ' *let him be immediately bound in the chains of excommuni-*
 ' *cation;* and if he shall contumaciously refuse to make
 ' satisfaction and submit himself to the Church within
 ' the year, *let this be signified to the Pope, who shall there-*
 ' *upon declare his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and*
 ' *proclaim his territories open to the just seizure and occu-*
 ' *pation of Catholic Powers, who, after they shall have ex-*
 ' *terminated the heretics, shall possess them without control,*
 ' *and preserve them in the purity of the faith, still preserv-*
 ' *ing the title of the principal Lord, provided he shall give*
 ' *them no interruption, or oppose any impediment to their*
 ' *proceedings;* and let the same rule be observed with
 ' respect to those who have no principal lords, *i. e.*
 ' republics.

' Let all Catholics who shall undertake a *crusade* for
 ' the extermination of heretics have the same indulgence,
 ' and the same holy privilege, as those who undertake
 ' the crusade for the expulsion of the infidels from the
 ' Holy Land.

‘ We decree, that not only those who profess heretical
 ‘ tenets, but all receivers, protectors, and favourers of
 ‘ heretics, are *ipso facto* excommunicated; and we
 ‘ strictly ordain and command, that after any such shall
 ‘ be publicly branded with excommunication, if they
 ‘ shall refuse to make satisfaction and submit themselves
 ‘ to the Church within a year, *they shall be infamous, nor*
 ‘ *shall they be admitted to any public office or council, nor to*
 ‘ *elect any persons to such, nor to give testimony in any cause;*
 ‘ *neither shall they be capable of making wills, nor of suc-*
 ‘ *cession, as heirs or representatives, to any estate: they shall*
 ‘ *be incapable of suing in any court, but may themselves be*
 ‘ *sued: if any such person shall happen to be a judge of any*
 ‘ *court, his sentence shall be null and void, nor shall any*
 ‘ *cause be prosecuted before him: if he shall happen to be an*
 ‘ *advocate, he shall not be admitted to practise; if a notary,*
 ‘ *instruments drawn up, prepared, witnessed, or executed by*
 ‘ *him, shall also be void and of no effect, but condemned*
 ‘ *with their guilty framer: and we command that the same*
 ‘ *rule be observed in all similar cases. But if he be a*
 ‘ *clergyman, let him be deposed both *ab officio et beneficio,**
 ‘ that, as his crime is the greater, so the greater may
 ‘ be his punishment.

‘ And if any such, after they have been publicly de-
 ‘ nounced by the Church, shall contumaciously neglect
 ‘ to submit and make satisfaction, let them be compelled
 ‘ and driven to it by the incessant operation of the sen-
 ‘ tence of excommunication. Let no clergyman admi-
 ‘ nister to such pestilent wretches the sacraments of the
 ‘ Church, nor permit their bodies to Christian burial,
 ‘ nor receive their alms and oblations. If they shall act
 ‘ otherwise, let them be suspended from officiating, and
 ‘ let

‘ let them not be restored but by the special indulgence
‘ of the Pope.

‘ We also add, that every Archbishop or Bishop, by
‘ himself or his archdeacon, or other respectable per-
‘ sons, shall twice, or at least once, in every year,
‘ visit each parish in his diocese, in which it is reported
‘ that any heretics dwell, and shall there oblige three or
‘ more credible persons, or, if he shall think proper, the
‘ whole vicinage, to swear, that if any of them shall
‘ know any heretics, or any persons holding or frequent-
‘ ing secret conventicles, or affecting either in life or
‘ manners to differ from the common conversation and
‘ practice in life of the faithful, they will endeavour
‘ effectually to discover and point them out to the Bishop ;
‘ and the Bishop shall call the accused into his presence,
‘ and if they shall not effectually purge themselves from
‘ the crimes laid to their charge, or if, after they shall
‘ have made their purgation, they shall perfidiously re-
‘ lapse into their former guilt, they shall be canonically
‘ punished. And if any, through damnable obstinacy,
‘ declining to bind themselves by the religious obligation
‘ of an oath, shall perhaps refuse to swear, let them be
‘ from that instant reputed heretics.’

The Oath sworn by every Romish Bishop at his consecration is as follows. See the first vol. of Burnet’s History of the Reformation, p. 123.

‘ I, ——, Bishop of ——, do swear, that from this
‘ hour forward I shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter,
‘ and to the holy Church of Rome, *and to my Lord the Pope*
‘ *and his successors canonically entering.* I shall not be of
‘ counsel

‘ counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or
 ‘ member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or
 ‘ any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me cre-
 ‘ dited by them, their messages or letters, I shall not
 ‘ willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of
 ‘ Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the *regality*
 ‘ of St. Peter, I shall help, maintain, and defend against
 ‘ all men. The Legate of the See apostolic, going and
 ‘ coming, I shall honourably entreat: the rights, ho-
 ‘ nours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of
 ‘ Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall
 ‘ cause to be conserved, defended, *augmented, and pro-*
 ‘ *moted.* I shall not be in council, treaty, or any act,
 ‘ in which any thing shall be imagined against him or
 ‘ the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or
 ‘ powers; and if I know any such to be moved or com-
 ‘ passed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I
 ‘ can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him
 ‘ knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees,
 ‘ ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, pro-
 ‘ visions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I
 ‘ shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. *Heretics,*
 ‘ *schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors,*
 ‘ *I shall resist and persecute to my power.* I shall come to
 ‘ the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a
 ‘ canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles
 ‘ I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall
 ‘ not alienate or sell my possessions without the Pope’s
 ‘ counsel. So help me God and the holy Evangelists.’

In 1793, Dr. Troy, Romish Archbishop of Dublin,
 published a pamphlet, which he styled ‘ A Pastoral Let-
 ‘ ter:’ it is in truth a political tract, containing argu-

ments not a little hostile to the established constitution in church and state. He endeavours to prove the justice, expediency, and even necessity of the admission of Romanists into the Legislature, and into all offices of trust and confidence; and takes special care to support, not without some degree of address, his arguments, by menaces of the effects which he insinuates must flow from the numbers and puissance of the Irish Romanists, magnified by him infinitely beyond reality. Any reasonable man would expect that the Doctor would have endeavoured rather to extenuate than openly to assert and justify the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, which he knew Protestants held to be one great impediment to the admission of the Romish claims; but it is quite otherwise. In page 31 of this pretended Pastoral Letter is the following passage: ‘ It is a *fundamental article* of the Roman Catholic faith, that the Pope or Bishop of Rome is successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, in that See; he enjoys by divine right a spiritual and ecclesiastical primacy, not only of honour and rank, but of *real jurisdiction and authority*, in the universal church. Roman Catholics conceive this point as clearly established in the scriptures, and by the constant tradition of the Fathers in every age, as it is by the *express decisions of their general councils, which they consider as infallible authority in points of doctrine.*’

Same author, page 97.—‘ Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Rome. He is guardian of the general canons, and can alone dispense with them *proprio jure, or by inherent right*. Others enjoy that power by delegation from him. The erection, suppression, and
‘ union

‘ union of bishoprics and other benefices ; the elevation
 ‘ of sees to the metropolitanical dignity and jurisdiction ;
 ‘ the institution of general fasts and holidays ; dispensa-
 ‘ tions from their observance ; the regulation and in-
 ‘ spection of our liturgy ; *appeals from inferior ecclesiasti-
 ‘ cal courts to his supreme tribunal ; the suspension and
 ‘ restoration of bishops, and numberless other particulars of
 ‘ our general church discipline mentioned in the canons,
 ‘ depend on the Pope as our ecclesiastical superior, and
 ‘ are connected with his primacy of jurisdiction in the
 ‘ universal church. Henry VIII. of England was the first
 ‘ Christian prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, and
 ‘ commanded an enslaved Parliament to enact it as a law of
 ‘ the state. The Catholics consider it an usurpation.’*

Same author, page 102.—‘ The Catholic laity of
 ‘ Ireland respect their clergy, and consider it a duty to
 ‘ be regulated by their determinations in all points of
 ‘ religious doctrine. They are attached to their pastors
 ‘ and spiritual guides, who love them as their children
 ‘ in Christ. *Clergy and laity are united by the most tender
 ‘ and interesting considerations. Every effort to dissolve this
 ‘ union must prove ineffectual ; interest and duty continue to
 ‘ render it indissoluble. In adversity and prosperity they
 ‘ must rise and fall together.’*

The same author, in another place, states, ‘ that the
 ‘ religious principles of Roman Catholics being un-
 ‘ changeable, they are applicable to all times.’

It is needless here to insert any other extracts from
 recent publications of Romish writers: I shall barely
 observe, that the same doctrines are held in a modern

publication of Mr. Hufsey, a Romish priest, who informs us in it, that he had been appointed Bishop of Waterford by the Pope. This publication he also styles a Pastoral Letter, though it is perhaps as seditious a publication as any which has appeared in modern times, provoking the Irish Romanists to insurrection, and drawing a line of eternal demarcation between them and their Protestant fellow-subjects, supported by the whole Romish host of anathemas and excommunications.

I will now proceed to answer the argument of the author of the '*Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' in support of his first position, to wit, *that men sincerely attached to the whole Romish creed may be as good and faithful subjects of the British empire as Protestants, and consequently as safely admissible to the supreme legislative and superior executive capacities.* His diffusive argument on this head, already mentioned, may be thus condensed: ' In a
 ' Romish state, the supremacy of the Church, or its
 ' spiritual authority, has no sanction, no coercive power
 ' in this life, and can in no way come in contact with
 ' civil existence; nor can its tribunal exist, so as to affect
 ' any man in his liberty, life, or property, without the
 ' permission of the sovereign of that country; and if a
 ' foreign jurisdiction exists in such country, it is to the
 ' consent of the sovereign power, and not to the Roman
 ' Catholic religion, of which it is no inherent part, it is
 ' to be ascribed. In a Protestant state, such as Ireland,
 ' the King, Peers, and nine tenths of the Commons
 ' being Protestants, the consent of the state never can be
 ' obtained to the exercise of Romish ecclesiastical jurif-
 ' diction; therefore in such state no mischief can arise
 ' from the Romish tenet of the supremacy of the Pope,
 ' though

‘ though Romanists should sit in Parliament, and be admitted to the highest offices of the state.’ Though the premises in this syllogistic argument be admitted to be true, yet the conclusion will by no means follow, that no mischief will arise in a Protestant state by the admission of Romanists into the supreme legislative body, and to the exercise of the highest executive offices of the state, as I shall hereafter prove; yet the premises require examination. The major proposition, to wit, *the spiritual authority of the Pope not being an inherent part of the Romish religion, has no sanction, and cannot be exercised even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state,* is extremely sophistical; it consists in fact of two propositions; the first is, *the spiritual authority of the Pope is not an inherent part of the Romish religion.* This proposition is already clearly proved to be false, by the extracts from the Lateran Council, and from Doctor Troy, and by the rejection of the Oath of Supremacy by all Romanists. The second part of it, *that this authority has no sanction in this life, and cannot be exercised, even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state,* requires explanation.

In a Romish state, the sovereign power, whether it be a monarchy or a republic, being vested in Romanists, its consent to the execution of the decrees of their own church, of which they admit the Pope to be supreme head, is certain. Romish monarchs, and governing members of Romish republics, are, by the tenets of their religion, bound, not only to consent to the execution, but to execute the decrees of their church, as well on the persons as on the properties of their subjects: hence in Romish states the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals amplifies itself into the exercise of a most ex-

tenfive temporal jurisdiction, the state either resigning to ecclesiastical officers the execution of the decrees of the Church on the persons and properties of its subjects, or becoming itself the executioner of such decrees: for instance, in most Romish countries, such as the Church deems heretics, or even suspects of being so, are imprisoned by ecclesiastical officers in ecclesiastical prisons, and they are burned by temporal officers when the Church pronounces them heretics irreclaimable, and delivers them over to the secular arm; as was the case in England before the Reformation and during the reign of Queen Mary: therefore in Romish countries, the Church of Rome, and its supreme head the Pope, have real jurisdiction, efficient tribunals, and sanctions to their decrees of the most powerful efficacy; and their decrees reach to, and are executed upon, the liberties, lives, and properties, and most of the temporal concerns of the subjects; and such states are themselves the executioners of their decrees. This jurisdiction is an inherent part of the Roman Catholic religion, and its title is founded in the very essence of that religion. Dr. Troy states, ‘ that
 ‘ the real jurisdiction and authority of the Pope is clearly
 ‘ established by the scriptures and the constant tradition
 ‘ of the Fathers, and the express decisions of general
 ‘ councils, which Roman Catholics consider as infallible
 ‘ authority: *it is a fundamental article of the Roman Ca-*
 ‘ *tholic faith.*’ This doctrine is conformable to the Lateran Council, and to the opinions of all Romish writers, ancient or modern, on the subject. If a Romish state should refuse to execute the decrees of the Romish Church in what are deemed spiritual matters, such as heresy, and many others extending to the liberties, lives, and properties of the subjects, which are certainly temporal concerns,

concerns, such states would cease to be Roman Catholic. In such states it is of no moment whether such power or jurisdiction be exercised by the Church itself, or by the temporal power under the orders and direction of the Church, or by the permission of the temporal power, as long as the acquiescence and obedience of the temporal power are ensured by the very tenets of their religion.

The Romish doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters is supported in effect and operation by Romish states, however in political theory statesmen or lawyers may sometimes presume partially to dissent from it, admitting it in practice, and being themselves its executioners. But in a Protestant state, such a tenet directly militates against the very existence of the state, is utterly inconsistent with the nature and essence of the government, and contrary to its vital principles, both in theory and practice. In Romish states, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope in all spiritual matters, so far as the cognizance of the cause and pronouncing sentence, either in the first instance or on appeal, is admitted to exist; but, says this author, he is not permitted to execute his sentence, where it affects temporals, without the approbation of the temporal sovereignty of the Romish states; therefore his supremacy is not admitted in such states. This is a miserable sophism; for as long as such states continue Romish, they are bound by the tenets of their religion to execute, and do execute his sentences, affecting both the lives and properties of their subjects, that is, their temporal concerns and interests, and do thereby effectually admit his supremacy, and become his ministers, servants, and executioners.

As to the minor proposition of this author's syllogistic argument, to wit, *that in Ireland, a Protestant state, the consent of the state cannot be procured to the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Romish Church, and of its head the Pope*; I believe it is now true, and I hope it will always continue so; because I hope our rulers in this Protestant British empire never will be induced by falsehood, fraud, and sophistry, to transfer to Romanists the political power of the state, which they would not, nor could not, if they continued Romanists, fail to use for the introduction of their own faith as orthodox, and the suppression of the Protestant faith as heretical, and consequently for the establishment of the Pope's supremacy among their other religious errors. To give this minor proposition the effect which this author intends, it is not sufficient that it be admitted to be now true, but it must be supposed that in Ireland it will always continue true, that is, that though Romanists be admitted into the supreme legislative and executive authorities of the state, yet they never will be able, on account of their present weakness and poverty, to overturn the Protestant establishment, and consequently that it cannot be hurtful to the state to admit them. This is at best a negative argument; it does not tend to prove that it would be useful to the state to admit them, but that it would not be pernicious or detrimental to do so; and it at the same time, in some measure, admits, that if they were powerful it would be dangerous for Protestants to admit them, and consequently that Protestants have a good right to believe that they would use any political power they may acquire, for the subversion of the present establishment; and this the author more explicitly admits in more than one passage, intimating to Irish Protestants, that if they will admit Romanists to
the

the supreme legislative and executive capacities, they may have the guaranty of England for the security of their church establishment; that is, in other words, ‘ Your church establishment, which in the present constitution of the state is secure, will be rendered insecure by your admission of us into the supreme legislative and executive capacities; and in that case you must apply to your friend and neighbour for that security which you had in your own hands, but which you have foolishly relinquished.’ And this argument he makes use of, when he is apparently endeavouring to dissuade the Irish nation from consenting to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and consequently to loosen the bands of connexion of the two countries.

The conclusion, however, drawn by this author from these premises, is not warranted by them, though the truth of the premises be admitted; for, even in that case, it can be proved that much mischief may arise to the Protestant state of Ireland from the admission of Romanists to the legislative and highest executive capacities; and first from this author’s own statement. In the second page of his pamphlet he states the proportion of Irish Romanists to Irish Protestants to be four or five to one. This is a gross exaggeration; but I am now arguing from his own assertions. In a commercial country, property is continually changing hands: landed estates, where there is no restraint of alienation, change masters, not so rapidly as personal property, but though in a slower, yet not less certain progression: in the course of trade, the industrious and indigent are continually emerging into opulence; landed property in this country is every day at market, and by purchase comes to the possession

possession of the successful merchant, mechanic, and farmer: hence if in Ireland the mass of the people, that is, five to one, be Romanists, though at present the bulk of the property of the nation be in the hands of Protestants, yet it will shift into those of Romanists, by a progression certain, and, considering the alledged disproportion of numbers, not very slow. The Irish Romanists have been very lately admitted to every civil franchise enjoyed by the Irish Protestants, except to the capacity of sitting in Parliament, and of occupying about thirty of the greatest offices of the state; they are even rendered capable of becoming members of all corporations in the kingdom. If then they shall be admitted to sit in Parliament, they must at a period not very distant, as property, admitted by this author to be the basis of representation, shifts to their scale, be the representatives in Parliament of all the counties, and of all the boroughs distinguished by the name of pot-walloping, and, by less rapid degrees, of all or most of the other boroughs in the kingdom; that is, they will in a short time compose the whole, or at least a vast majority of the House of Commons. Their Peers (at present indeed very few) will sit in the House of Lords; so that in our supreme legislative body they will form one, and infinitely the most powerful branch, and have a considerable influence in the second, and will have power sufficient to force the third or regal branch to a compliance with all their schemes, and oblige it to fill all the great offices of the state with Romanists, and introduce as many of them as may amount to a majority into the House of Peers. Hence it is obvious, from this author's own statement, that by admitting Romanists to form part of the supreme legislative power of the state, they will by degrees swallow up the whole,

awe the executive into their measures, and subvert the Protestant establishment in Ireland from the foundation; for a Romanist is bound, by the tenets of his religion, to the best of his power to exterminate all heretics, and destroy all heretical establishments; and this author will not, I believe, deny, that all Romanists hold all Protestants to be heretics; and as he is also by the same religion bound to establish it in the room of the one subverted, and to execute the decrees of the Church of Rome and of its head the Pope, the supremacy in spirituals, to which a vast temporal power is annexed, and from which it is inseparable, will be in effect and reality torn from the state, and vested in the Pope, with his consistory, nuncios, and ministers; and the halcyon days of Queen Mary, and of the bonfires and triumphs of Popery, will return; the writ *de Hæretico comburendo* will again receive the sanction of Parliament. Such is the statement by which this author endeavours to persuade Irish Protestants to betray the political power of the state, and the security of their own lives and properties, into Romish hands!

But waving all advantage which the gross exaggerations and misstatements of this author, or the weakness of his arguments, may afford, I will expose the mischief to the Protestant state of Ireland which must arise by the admission of Romanists into Parliament, from the very nature of its constitution and government, and the true state of its population, relative numbers, and views of the different classes of its inhabitants.

The sovereign power of Ireland is vested in the King, Lords, and Commons; and whatever prince wears the
diadem

diadem of Great Britain, he is *ipso facto* King of Ireland : its population cannot much exceed three millions of people ; one third at least of the inhabitants are Protestants, two thirds only are Romanists : upwards of two millions of the inhabitants are in such a state of poverty, that they cannot pay a yearly tax to the state of four-pence per head without the greatest distress, and nine tenths of these are Romanists. (See Appendix, No. 1.) All subjects of a state, who deny that the supreme power by which that state is constitutionally governed is exclusively entitled to enact and execute all laws for the good government of that state, and who maintain, as part of their religious creed, that a power exists extraneous and separate from that state, and not under its control and dominion, which can make laws, and enforce their execution among the subjects of that state in many particulars, are enemies to its independence, and traitors. Irish Romanists universally maintain, as an immutable tenet of their religion, the supremacy of the Pope in all spiritual matters within this kingdom. See the above quotations from Dr. Troy (who styles the power of the state to determine within itself, and by its own judicatories, all ecclesiastical causes, an *usurpation*), and all other Romish writers on the same subject. Romanists will not take the Oath of Supremacy before stated. It is utterly impossible and impracticable to separate a vast portion of *temporal* power and influence from *spiritual* supremacy : heresy is of spiritual cognizance, so is matrimony ; Romanists hold it to be a sacrament ; and as to its validity, their canons are in many instances different from ours, they declaring marriages null and void, which by our laws are valid, and *vice versa*. What degree of temporal power and influence does the supremacy in spirituals derive from the exclusive jurisdiction respecting

heresy? Look to the Lateran Council already quoted! What degree of temporal power and influence does the exclusive matrimonial jurisdiction confer? Legitimacy and succession to property real and personal, and almost every combination of circumstances under which such succession might be claimed, depend on the matrimonial jurisdiction. A thousand other instances can be adduced of the inseparability of supreme jurisdiction in spiritual, from vast power and influence in temporal concerns. The Popes for ages have usurped temporal authority as incident to their spiritual supremacy in various Christian states, and under that title alone; and as to the extent and influence of this jurisdiction, the decline of the Pope's power as a temporal prince does not in the least diminish them: as a temporal prince, the Pope never was considerable; the essence of his usurpation is in his dominion over the minds of Romanists in the state; if they are very numerous, they must be dangerous in proportion to their numbers, wealth, and influence in a Protestant state, though the Pope should be completely stripped of all his dominions and territories. The tyranny exerted by the Pope in temporals, under colour of his spiritual supremacy, is painted in our histories, and in the preambles of the statutes enacted both in England and Ireland for abolishing his usurpation. See the English statutes 25th Henry VIII. chap. 21.; 32d Henry VIII. chap. 38.; 1st of Elizabeth, chap. 1.; and Irish statutes 28th Henry VIII. chap. 13. 19.; 33d Henry VIII. chap. 6.; 2d of Elizabeth, chap. 1. The late Lord Chesterfield, whom no man will accuse of much prejudice in religious matters, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1745, expressed himself, in his speech from the Throne to the Irish Parliament, in the following manner: ' However,

' I leave

‘ I leave to your consideration whether nothing further
 ‘ can be done, either by new laws, or the more effectual
 ‘ execution of those in being, to secure this nation against
 ‘ the great number of Papists, *whose speculative errors*
 ‘ *would only deserve pity, did not their pernicious influence*
 ‘ *on civil society require and authorize restraint.*’ This
 Lord was one of those men who, according to the author
 of ‘ *The Case of Ireland Re-considered,*’ was prejudiced
 and ill-informed, when compared with himself! And
 now I ask this author, whether he can produce a single
 instance in which a state having sufficient power to ex-
 clude all traitors from its sovereignty, voluntarily called
 them to the exercise of supreme power? This would be
 the case, if Romanists in Ireland were admitted into the
 Houses of Lords and Commons; for in these Houses, in
 conjunction with the King, and not in the King alone, is
 lodged the supreme power of the state; and such is the
 peculiar characteristic of our constitution, which is a li-
 mited monarchy: if the Government of Ireland were
 guilty of such folly, it would richly merit political disso-
 lution, and might be justly termed *felo de se*. Shall we
 give voices in the supreme legislative assembly, invested
 with the sovereign power, to those who are taught by
 their religion not only to renounce and disobey, but to
 vilify and traduce the supremacy of that Legislature, and
 who thus ally superstition with treason, and, as it were,
 sanctify rebellion? In the British empire, experience has
 shown the folly, nay madness, of investing Romanists with
 supreme power. King James the Second, who was per-
 verted from the Protestant religion to Popery during his
 exile, no sooner ascended the Throne, than he set every
 engine to work, for the purpose of establishing Popery on
 the ruins of the religion of his country: he was a prince

not destitute of qualities which might have secured to him the affection of his subjects, both as a man and a monarch ; but his unfortunate attachment to Popery made him set at nought all political and moral obligation ; regardless of his coronation oath, he made use of all the advantages which his situation afforded him, to violate every principle of the constitution, for the sole purpose of surrendering the supremacy of the state to a foreign judicatory, attempting to subjugate the independent British empire to the Papacy, to share the regal authority with the Pope, and to reign partly as his vassal : the obligation of a solemn oath yielded to his bigotry, and he reduced to practice the Romish doctrine, that all oaths, the obligations of which militate in any respect against the tenets of their church, are in themselves impious, unlawful, and void. His conduct is a perpetual lesson to Protestants, not to rely with too much confidence on the oaths of Romanists, the obligations of which operate against their religious opinions.

The above arguments also prove the mischief which must arise from committing to Romanists the higher executive offices of the state ; they would be thereby entrusted with the execution of laws, which they are bound in conscience to resist, and which they look upon as impious and heretical. Common sense exclaims against such monstrous and destructive projects of innovation ! All Protestants must for ever deprecate and oppose the granting any part of the supreme power of the state, whether legislative or executive, to Romanists, who must ever direct that power unceasingly to the destruction of the Protestant religion, and the establishment of their own ; and this they can never have any reasonable hope to effect,

save

save by a total change in the constitution. It is impossible that any Romanist can honestly and zealously administer the affairs of a Protestant state; he would cease to be a Romanist, if he did not perseveringly aim at supremacy, and the paramount establishment of the Romish religion. Romanists could not be content to share equal power with those they believe to be heretics: the most sacred engagements (as we see, among a thousand instances, in the conduct of James the Second), if contrary to, or not coinciding with, the interests of their church, are by that church dissolved, and declared void.

The argument of this author, that representation by the British constitution is in the same ratio with property, that Protestant property is to that of Romish property in Ireland in the proportion of ten to one, and that consequently no danger can accrue to the Protestant interest by the admission of Romanists into Parliament, I have answered pretty fully already, from the fluctuation of property in a commercial state, from the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists, and the avowed political creed of the latter class. But though I were to admit, that property and consequent representation would always remain in the same ratio, yet I can point out many mischiefs to the establishment in church and state, which would most certainly flow from the admission of Romanists to seats in Parliament. When King James the Second undertook the subversion of the Protestant establishment in England and Ireland, the two great branches of the supreme authority of both nations, to wit, the Houses of Lords and Commons, consisted of Protestants only. The supreme executive, being only one branch of the sovereign authority of the empire, attempted to carry into execution

execution this desperate project: history informs us it was very near succeeding, and would with certainty have succeeded, at least in Ireland, had not a great continental power, nearly allied to the Throne, interfered for our preservation, roused the energy of the empire, and defeated a design founded in bigotry, and consequent perjury. At that time one branch of the supreme authority was near effecting so desperate an enterprise; what mischiefs and innovations may not be expected, in case the other two branches, or either of them, and particularly the popular branch, the House of Commons, should become even partially corrupted with Romish bigotry, hostile, and incurably so, to the constitution both in Church and State! All persons know that the House of Commons, if uninfluenced by the monarchy and aristocracy, could subvert the state; it did so once, and if led by desperate and wicked politicians, might do so again: the very existence of our political establishment depends on the constitutional influence of the King and Peers among the Commons; and is it consistent with the rules of political wisdom, to suffer any part of that assembly to be composed of the determined, deadly, irreclaimable enemies of the constitution, and of the independence of the empire? This author supposes that a tenth part of that House would be immediately occupied by Romish representatives, in case they were admitted to sit in Parliament; but whatever their number might be at first, it certainly would constantly increase, from the shifting of property in commercial countries to that class of subjects which is most numerous. The concession then to Romanists of the capacity of sitting in Parliament, would be the immediate admission of thirty members into the House of Commons, determined enemies of the constitution in Church and State,

who would be always ready to join any discontented party in Parliament in opposition to the Crown and its Ministers ; any set of profligate desperadoes ; the professed patrons of two opposition measures, dignified with the specious and imposing titles of *Emancipation and Reform*, signifying, in the vocabulary of the Irish Rebels, *Popery and Republicanism* (as is fully proved in the Reports of the Secret Committees of the British and Irish Houses of Lords and Commons), or in any other measures for the destruction of the constitution. Romish Irish members of Parliament would support emancipation from the principles of their religion, and reform as ancillary to emancipation, because most of the boroughs are at present under the influence of Protestants ; and though Romanists are rendered capable of being members of corporations by the act of 1793 in their favour, yet it will take some time before its operation can ensure to them any domineering interest in boroughs : besides, the Irish Romanists are now almost universally determined Republicans, as I shall hereafter show.

It is pretty certain, if Romanists were admissible into Parliament, that a greater number of them would obtain seats, than their property entitles them to expect, on the scale laid down by this author ; for the lowest orders of the Irish population are almost all Romanists, and particularly the Irish peasantry. Mr. Tone, in his State of Ireland, drawn up for the use of the French Convention, states, that the whole of the Irish peasantry may be said to be Romanists, and semi-barbarous. The Irish Protestant Nobility and Gentry, after the passing of the act which enabled Romanists to vote at elections of members of Parliament, seemed to be seized with a mania for mak-

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ing forty-shilling freeholders, each vying with his neighbour for qualifying the greatest number of voters at county elections; and most of their tenantry being Romanists, they made forty-shilling freeholders of a vast number of them, under the vain opinion, that they would be always able to command their votes: hence, in many counties, the forty-shilling Romish freeholders exceed in numbers the Protestant freeholders, and woful experience has now proved to the Protestant landlords their mistake, in supposing that the votes of their Romish tenants would be at their disposal; for in the late Romish Rebellion it was remarkable, that the insurgent peasants pursued their landlords with the greatest inveteracy, murdered such of them as fell into their hands, burned their houses, and wasted their property: in fact, these half-savages are mostly under the direction and influence of their priests, who would generally sway county elections; and I need not make use of many arguments to prove, that the persons elected as representatives for most of the counties would very soon be all Romanists, whether they had property or not: the same would be the case in all or most of the boroughs distinguished by the name of Pot-walloping; of which, I think, there are eight in the kingdom: so that the Romish representation would immediately amount to much more than a tenth of the House of Commons; and this would be an evil daily increasing. All these Romish representatives would most certainly unite together, and act in conjunction with every discontented party against the Government, whilst it continued Protestant; and as all such parties would join the Romanists in making breaches in the constitution favourable to their views, to procure their co-operation in their own designs, what incalculable mischiefs must arise, and what certain ruin to the present

establishment in Church and State, from the admission of Romanists into Parliament! I am firmly persuaded that His Majesty, a truly pious prince, will never be induced to concur in so fatal a measure, but will conceive that his concurrence would be a violation of his coronation oath, inasmuch as it would directly tend to the overthrow of that religious establishment which he has solemnly sworn to maintain and defend.

The second general argument of this author on which he rests the Romish claims of political power, *viz.* that Romanists have a right to seats in Parliament in proportion to their property, because property is, by the British constitution, the basis of representation, is very easily refuted. Admitting property to be the basis of representation, yet by no force of argument can it be proved, that a class of people, from religious principle the determined enemies of the state, traitors in theory, and always in practice, when they dare, be their property what it may, have a right to be admitted into the supreme legislative power of the state; they ought to be excluded by every principle on which civil societies are founded: and so far from being entitled to the enjoyment of any political power in a state, they ought to be extremely well contented with, and, if they have any sparks of gratitude, very thankful for, being permitted to remain within the territories of the state, and enjoy the protection and benefits of it. Protestant states affording such indulgence to their Romish subjects act on a true Christian principle; they forgive their enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, heap benefits upon them, and deprive them of nothing, except the power of injuring their protectors. The greater part of the above reasoning applies as well to the rejection of Ro-

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manists from seats in the United Parliament, when an Incorporating Union shall take place between Great Britain and Ireland, as from seats in the Irish Parliament: their admission into either would be a fatal breach in the constitution: the consequence of such an innovation in England I shall hereafter enlarge on.

I shall conclude this part of my answer to the author's sophistical argument, to prove the Romish principle of Papal supremacy to be no reasonable objection to Romanists enjoying part of the sovereign authority of the Protestant state of Ireland by sitting in Parliament, and being admitted to the highest executive offices, with observing that his petulant assertion, that no well-informed man would make it twice, is in fact an assertion, that all English and Irish statesmen and senators in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth, and ever since, were ignorant politicians when compared with himself, and have drawn on themselves the contempt of the whole world, by excluding Romanists from sovereign power, as he in one place expresses himself. Such presumption and ignorance demonstrate him to be an Irishman, bred in an academy of modern French philosophers, the only rival of whose characteristic presumption is their ignorance.

It is very difficult to determine, whether this author's next argument betrays most ignorance or malice. He begins it by stating, 'that Roman Catholics do not deny the sole right of the state to manage the concerns, establishment, *faith and discipline* of the Church of England;' thereby, indirectly, but not less decisively, asserting, that the *faith and discipline* of the Church of England are mere

creatures of state policy, and that such faith is not founded on, nor its discipline regulated by, the holy Scriptures, the revealed word of God, but is of mere human invention, or rather imposition:—most condescending admission of this Romish writer! At the very time he is endeavouring to persuade Protestants to acquiesce in the Romish claims, he cannot, in the true spirit of Popery, forbear introducing, in almost every paragraph, some sneer or malignant falsehood against the established church. The state has not assumed the power in the British empire to manage the faith of its subjects, so far as that faith relates merely to spiritual concerns, if by managing is meant the determining the articles of faith: all such are determined by convocations of the Clergy, according to the doctrines laid down in the holy Scriptures: the same is true with respect to the discipline of the Church, which is settled and regulated by the canons agreed on in convocation, which convocation sits by the authority of the Crown. As to the establishment and revenues of the Church, the British state does always interfere, as they relate to the temporal concerns of the Clergy and Laity both; and hence the canons agreed on at convocation, relating necessarily to temporal matters, as well as spiritual, indissolubly connected, must, to give them a temporal authority, be approved of by the sovereign power; but they bind the Clergy, without the sanction of Parliament, in all points of faith and discipline. The authority of Parliament is also necessary to warrant and enforce the public exercise of religion; and such interference of the state the encroaching system of the Romish church on the temporal power of princes and states throughout the Christian world made absolutely necessary, multiplying corruptions in that particular for a series of centuries. After thus sneering
maliciously

maliciously at the established church, this author proceeds :
 ‘ Roman Catholics do not admit the King of England to be
 ‘ spiritual head of the Roman Catholic church, nor do the
 ‘ Presbyterians admit him to be head of theirs : this was not
 ‘ a reason for excluding the Scotch from a share in the Legis-
 ‘ lature of the country they were united to ; why then should it
 ‘ exclude the Irish ?’ It is to be observed first, that he insinuates the Romish church is the church of the Irish in general ; I shall hereafter expose the fraud of that insinuation ; but I must first examine his argument, admitting, that I verily believe from some other passages in his pamphlet, it is partly founded on the author’s profound ignorance of the laws of his country, which he manifests in more than one instance, when writing on the repealed Irish Popery code, and its effects in society.

The original Oath of Supremacy, as ordained to be taken by the 28th of Henry VIII. chap. 13. contained the following clause : ‘ shall accept, repute, and take the
 ‘ King’s Majesty to be the *the only supreme head on earth*
 ‘ of the Church of England and Ireland.’ This oath was complained of, as an acknowledgment of a sacerdotal power in the temporal sovereign. Queen Elizabeth, after her accession, when she caused the laws against the Pope’s authority, which had been repealed by her sister Mary, to be re-enacted, altered Henry’s Oath of Supremacy, or rather caused an entirely new Oath to be enacted in the room of Henry’s : in this new Oath of Supremacy is the following clause : ‘ I — do utterly testify and declare
 ‘ in my conscience, that the Queen’s Highness is the only
 ‘ *supreme governor of this realm*, and of all other her High-
 ‘ ness’s dominions and countries, *as well in all spiritual*
 ‘ *or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal.*’ (See Irish

Act, 2d Eliz. chap. 1. sect. 7.) And to prevent all cavil, the Queen published an explanation of this Oath of Supremacy, declaring, ‘ that she did not under colour
 ‘ thereof claim any priestly power, but merely under
 ‘ God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of
 ‘ persons born within her dominions, of what estate, whe-
 ‘ ther ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no
 ‘ other foreign power shall or ought to have any superi-
 ‘ ority over them.’ (See 1st vol. Carte’s History of the Duke of Ormond, page 38.) This Oath of Supremacy was afterwards abrogated by the English act of the 1st of William and Mary, and a new Oath was substituted in its place: for it was found that King James the Second, under the sanction of this Oath, had assumed a most unconstitutional power in the affairs of the Church, and used it for the subversion of the established constitution in Church and State. By this new Oath all persons, to whom it was by law administered, *only disclaimed and abjured all foreign authority or jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters within the realm, and did not swear that the Monarch was either supreme head, or supreme governor of the Church of the realm.* It is enacted, that this Oath shall be taken in Ireland as well as in England. I have given this Oath at large before. Hence it is obvious, that Irish Romanists are not excluded from Parliament, and from occupying the highest offices in the state, by their not admitting the King to be supreme head of the Church, as this author ignorantly states, but they exclude themselves by refusing to abjure the authority of a foreign prince and prelate within the realm.

The Reformation in Scotland was introduced by divines who were the disciples of Calvin: his doctrines

were universally received by the Reformed in Scotland ; and though James the First and Charles the First did introduce episcopacy into that kingdom, it was almost universally opposed by the mass of the people, both high and low. Episcopacy was subverted, and Presbyterianism established in the great civil war, which commenced in the year 1641. On the Restoration, episcopacy was restored, and held its place with great difficulty till the Revolution in 1688, when Presbyterianism was again introduced in Scotland on the ruins of Episcopacy, and was established by the King and Parliament, as the religion of the state. The Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland took place long afterwards, in the 5th year of Queen Anne ; and previous to the Union, and preparative thereto, an act was passed in England for the security of the Church of England, whereby the Acts of Uniformity, as they then stood, are declared perpetual ; as also all other acts then in force for the preservation of the Church of England : and it is enacted, that every subsequent King and Queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same, within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed : and a similar act, previous to the Union, and preparative thereto, was passed in Scotland, for the perpetual security of Presbyterianism in that kingdom, being then, and long before, its established religion. These two acts are inserted in the body of the Act of Union of the two kingdoms ; and by that act it is enacted, that the aforesaid two acts shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of the Union. The twenty-second article of the conditions of that Union inserted in, and ratified by, the Act of Union, provides, that all members of the
 United

United Parliament, English and Scotch, shall, previous to their voting in Parliament, take the oath already mentioned, substituted by the 1st of William and Mary in the room of the former Oath of Supremacy, and the Oath of Abjuration of the descendants of the late King James the Second, and repeat and sign the Declaration against Popery. (See Defoe's History of the Union, and the English Statute 5th Anne, chap. 8.) Sir William Blackstone observes on this Act of Union, that any alteration in the constitution of either of these churches, or in the liturgy of the Church of England, would be an infringement of these fundamental and essential conditions, and greatly endanger the Union. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, octavo edit. vol. i. page 98.)

As to particulars respecting the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, I confess myself not well informed, nor can I say whether it does, or does not, admit the King to be its supreme head; but this I will venture to advance, that the King's Commissioner sits in every general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and the state exercises pretty much the same controlling power over that Kirk, as it does over the Church of England. The admission, that the King is supreme head over the Kirk of Scotland, is not required as a qualification for a Scotch member to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain, nor for any member, whether Scotch or English: but the abjuration of all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction within the realm is required as a qualification: this abjuration all Scotch members actually make, and therefore they are admitted to sit in Parliament; but all Irish Romanists absolutely refuse to make this abjuration, and therefore exclude themselves from that privilege: and the author's
argument,

argument, that Irish Romanists should be qualified to sit in Parliament, because Scotch Presbyterians are qualified so to do, is a compound of ignorance and fraud.

It is here proper to take notice of another argument of this author somewhat of the same kind with the former. ‘ Scotland’ (he observes, in page 10) ‘ has preserved her ‘ religious establishment in opposition to that of England, ‘ and an episcopal party at home;’ and from thence he deduces, in many parts of his pamphlet, ‘ that Popery ‘ should be the established religion in Ireland, in case of ‘ an Union, in opposition to that of England, and a Pro- ‘ testant party in Ireland.’

The Churches of England and Scotland differ but little in points of faith; their chief disagreements relate to points of discipline: they are both Protestant churches, both disavow the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, both disclaim all partnership of dominion within the realm between the state and any foreign power; and as to this cardinal point, on which all political authority and legitimate government rest in the British Empire, these two Churches are so far from being in opposition, that there is the most perfect harmony between them: no dangerous convulsions in the body politic by the clashing of jurisdictions can arise from the one Church being established in one part, and the other in another part of the united kingdom; nor can the allegiance of the subject be distracted by the conflict of contending authorities. Presbyterianism was the established religion of Scotland at the time of the Union, and long previous to it; consequently Scotland did not preserve it in opposition to England, for England did not attempt to subvert the religion of Scotland, or claim any right so to do; and it is a very strange
and

and unwarranted assumption of this author, that the preservation of that which I am in full undisturbed possession of by a lawful title, and the enjoyment of which by me is not and cannot be in any shape detrimental to my neighbour, is retained by me in opposition to him, on my concluding a treaty with him for a closer connexion and alliance.

Let us now compare the Present State of Ireland as to Religion, with that of Scotland at the time of the Union with England, which I have already stated. The present established religion in Ireland is the Protestant; and this author's argument for the establishment of Popery in Ireland, in case of an Union, deduced from the religious state of Scotland at the time of its Union with England, is thus: At the Union, Scotland retained her established religion in opposition to England; *ergo*, Ireland, on an Union with England, should subvert her established religion, being the same with that of England, and set up Popery as her establishment in opposition to England! Such reasoning puts me in mind of Swift's description of a lady's arguments:

- ‘ Her arguments directly tend
- ‘ Against the side she would defend.’

The inevitable deduction from the author's statement is directly contrary to his. It follows from the conduct of Scotland at the Union; as stated by him, that Ireland should, on an Union with Great Britain, preserve her established religion as Scotland did, and not suffer it to be subverted, impaired, or changed; and the more so, as it is the same with that of England.

The modesty of this author, discoverable from his pamphlet, is as remarkable as any other of his qualities: he with great condescension tells the people of Great Britain that *he* will consent to an Union of Ireland with their kingdom, provided the establishment of Popery in Ireland be one of the conditions; and he calls such an Union a fair and broad Union. In page 6 he thus expresses himself: ‘ I think it right to declare that I am no enemy to this measure, provided it be a fair and broad Union;’ and this his most gracious and conciliating opinion he more fully explains in many passages of his pamphlet, evidently aiming at striking a bargain with the British Government for an Union; the price which he demands for the consent of Irish Romanists to the measure being no less than the subversion of the Protestant religion in Ireland by the power of Great Britain; and he very audaciously urges the expediency of such a proceeding on the part of Great Britain, by magnifying the strength of the Irish Romanists, by the most impudent threats of their rebellion, and the powerful interference of his old associates, the French assassins, on their behalf, in case his terms be rejected. This traitorous part of his arguments I shall more particularly notice hereafter, and refer to the passages in his pamphlet which contain them.

As this writer thinks fit in some few passages to assume the mask of what he esteems moderation, and pretend that *all* he requires for Irish Romanists is a full equality of all kind of privileges, and the enjoyment of part of the sovereignty of the state with Protestants; (very moderate requisitions indeed!) which he endeavours to show
from

from the superiority of the wealth and estates of Protestants, cannot be dangerous to the state; it may not be amiss here to take a peep under his mask, where may be easily discovered the hideous and ferocious features of the French Revolutionist, in all their terrific deformity, and that he really considers all the claims he makes on behalf of Irish Romanists (and which he asks sometimes as boons in a style of sturdy solicitation, and sometimes demands them with insult and menace), merely as the means of enabling his party to overturn the constitution in Church and State. I will for this purpose select one passage, though his real views may be discovered by almost every passage in his pamphlet. In page 40 he writes thus: ‘ I am now come to that important truth, which
 ‘ modern political writers on religious establishments, as
 ‘ I am informed, lay down as a principle, *that every state*
 ‘ *ought to establish the religious sect which is most numerous.*
 ‘ *If the necessity, or even the bare utility of Religion in a State*
 ‘ *be admitted, this truth forces itself on the mind most ad-*
 ‘ *verse to conviction, as imperiously as those axioms which*
 ‘ *no arguments can render clearer.*’ He then proceeds to show, that no religious establishment is necessary in a state, ‘ because Popery has answered all the true purposes
 ‘ of religion in Ireland without an establishment.’ He then argues, that the state may justly refuse any support to the ministers of the established Church; because, as he asserts ‘ the revenue enjoyed by the Church is part of
 ‘ the common stock left to the discretion of the state to
 ‘ employ to the best advantage of the community; and
 ‘ the Irish Legislature have a right to determine whether
 ‘ it be right or wrong to apply it to the establishment of
 ‘ the Protestant Church; and that it would be both wise
 ‘ and

‘ and generous for the Government to apply part of it
 ‘ at least to the support (that is, establishment) of Irish
 ‘ Romish priests.’

The position of this author, the incontestable truth of which he asserts with such dogmatic assurance, to wit, *that every state ought to establish the religious sect which is most numerous, if the utility of Religion in a State be admitted,* is first to be examined; because, as the author has frequently stated the Irish Romanists to be most numerous in Ireland, he in fact lays it down as a position, the truth of which cannot be disputed, *that Popery ought to be established by the Irish Government, and the revenues of the Church applied to the support of Romish priests.* Here then he tells us fairly and openly, that equality of privileges, and a share in the sovereignty of the state, will not content Irish Romanists; *that the Protestant establishment must and ought to be destroyed, and Popery placed in its room;* and that the truth of this last proposition is incontestable. But I cannot agree in the alleged incontestable truth of this position. I admit that Religion is both useful and necessary in a State; it disposes the minds of men to the exercise of all the moral virtues, and to a cheerful submission to that degree of subordination which is the principal link of connexion in all societies; it has prime influence in curbing unruly passions, and restraining the turbulence of inordinate appetites and desires; it therefore ought to be cherished and encouraged by all rulers of States and Empires: but I cannot admit that a religious establishment is to be always regulated by the number of the subjects of a state maintaining particular dogmas, if such dogmas are found, by the best informed and most respectable part of the state, to be inconsistent

consistent with the nature and constitution of the society, and subversive of the very frame of it: I cannot admit, that Christianity is to be treated as a mere engine of state, though true Christianity is certainly a great prop of the state: nor can I ever admit, that usurpation of part of the sovereignty of the state, or translation of it to a foreign power, are any parts of Christianity; and although the rabble of a country should maintain such a pernicious doctrine as a tenet of religion, and although the rabble in every country exceed the wealthy and informed part of the community, I cannot conceive that the government of a country is obliged to abdicate part of its sovereign authority, and consent to the establishment of such a divided power, of an *imperium in imperio*, though the rabble should be desirous, on the score of religion, to establish such a kind of mixed government, as in itself, in its very nature, contains the seeds of anarchy and confusion.

The desires or wishes of the majority of the subjects of a State cannot be complied with, without evident destruction of the state, in many instances. In all States in the world, the poor exceed the rich in number, and they universally wish for a division of the property of the wealthy; yet laws for an equal division of property, real and personal, of the nature of agrarian laws, are held to be destructive to all states, and subversive of all industry, arts, and sciences: and surely property, its acquisition and preservation, act as powerfully on the passions and prejudices of the people in general as religion, or the maintenance or subversion of religious establishments: and political writers might as well maintain that laws for the equal division of property should be enacted

enacted by the State, as that it should establish that Sect of Religion, whose votaries among its subjects were most numerous.

This author admits, that the representatives of the people in Parliament, or the Commons, the popular and most efficient branch of the supreme authority of the State, are to be elected by the people, reckoned according to their property, not their number. He asserts, that the supreme authority of the State can justly apply the Revenues of the Church to the support and establishment of any religion it may think proper; and yet asserts, in contradiction to these premises, that the State is bound to establish that sect whose votaries are most numerous, and not that whose votaries possess most property. How infinitely greater does the absurdity of such deduction appear, when we reflect that the expediency of the establishment of a Religion subversive of the independence and the very existence of the State is supported by such arguments!

Governments certainly act wisely in suiting their laws to the established opinions of the mass of their subjects; but in collecting the opinions of that mass, number is not so much to be regarded as property, station, rank, and respectability. The multitude is even proverbially ignorant. Information and judgment, the result of education, which the generality of mankind never attain, and which is not in fact necessary for their stations and occupations in life, are almost peculiar to the wealthy, or at least to those who are above indigence or the avocations of manual labour. In Ireland, if the opinion of the mass of the subjects, collected in the manner

before mentioned, is to determine the religious establishment, the weight of the Protestant body, though inferior in number, would infinitely outweigh that of the Romanists; and the Protestant faith must continue to be the established religion, if the predominant opinion of the subjects, ascertained by the common rules of reason and true political wisdom, is to be the regulator of the conduct of the State in point of religion. Forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed estates in Ireland are in the possession of Protestants, and nineteen parts out of twenty of personal estates; so that they exceed the Romanists in wealth in the proportion of forty to one at least (See Appendix, No. 1.), and not in the proportion of ten to one only, as this author, and the writer he undertakes to answer, have assumed. Of two millions of Irish inhabitants, so indigent as not to be able to pay a tax of four-pence per head yearly to the State, nine tenths are Romanists; in fact, almost the whole beggary of the kingdom are Romanists: how superlative, then, is the audacity of this Romish writer, in maintaining that Popery ought to be and must be the established religion in Ireland, because it is the religion of the greatest number of Irish subjects! Is the mob of a nation to determine its religious establishment? Is the mob to subject the nation to a foreign power?

But this self-evidently true position, in the opinion of this writer, that Popery ought to be the established religion in Ireland, because Irish Romanists out-number Irish Protestants, may be very easily refuted even on the score of numbers, and even admitting that superiority of number of subjects, reckoned not by property and respectability, but by the poll, should determine the establishment of the religion of the State; for Ireland is not a
kingdom

kingdom separate and distinct from Great Britain. Even in its present state it is so closely connected with Great Britain, that the ablest writers against an Incorporating Union of the two nations found their strongest arguments on this position, that the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is so strong as to be nearly indissoluble, and they deduce, that therefore no further Union is necessary. Certain it is, that the present connexion of the two islands approaches very near to a complete Union. The kingdom of Ireland, by the laws of the land, is for ever annexed to, dependant upon, and inseparably united to, the imperial crown of Great Britain. Whoever is King of Great Britain, is *ipso facto* King of Ireland. No Act of Parliament can pass in Ireland till after it has been sent into England, and has there the great seal of England affixed to it. Ireland is notoriously part of the British empire: the King of Great Britain is obliged at his coronation to swear that he will maintain the Protestant religion in Ireland. The inhabitants of Great Britain are almost all Protestants. If my memory does not deceive me, an inquiry into the number of Romanists in England was a few years ago made with great accuracy, by the authority of Government, on complaints of some zealous Protestants, that Romanists were increasing in number. It appeared on that inquiry, that the complaints were ill-founded; that the number of Romanists had considerably decreased in England since the Revolution, and that the whole number of Romanists in England, when the inquiry was made, did not exceed eighteen thousand. Adding the population of Great Britain and Ireland together, the Protestants will be found to outnumber the Romanists at least in the proportion of six to one in the British Empire in Europe; and hence this

author's argument for the establishment of Popery and subversion of the Protestant religion, on the score of numbers, in any part of the British European dominions, will be found, like many of his other arguments, to make directly against his purpose.

As this author could not seriously entertain the hope, sanguine as he is, that the rulers of the British Empire would be duped by his absurd arguments to overturn the Protestant establishment in Ireland for the purpose of substituting Popery in its place, he proceeds to allege, that the establishment of any religion by the State is utterly unnecessary, wishing at least to destroy what his party is hopeless of obtaining; and this modern political principle, as he states it, he supports by the following assertion: *Popery has answered all the true purposes of religion in Ireland without an establishment.* From his confederates, the Atheists of France, he has borrowed this modern political principle; but his support of it from the efficacy in Ireland of unestablished Popery, alleging that it has answered all true purposes of religion, is as glaring, as notorious a falsehood, as any contained in his pamphlet, or in any other publication, ancient or modern. The author admits, in the same page (40), that *Religion is a great help to Morality, Good Order, and Government.* Let us now examine the effects of Popery in Ireland by this criterion. The English settled in Ireland before the Reformation, were for the most part always attached to England: they depended on England for support. A constant war was kept up between the English settlers in a considerable district of Ireland, called the Pale, and the native Irish: they would not mix or intermarry with them. The native Irish and these English settlers

settlers and their descendants, though inhabiting that part of Ireland for some centuries before, remained two distinct and separate nations in the same island, and persecuting each other, in a predatory and destructive war, with the utmost rancour; but no sooner had the Reformation been introduced into Ireland, which it was not with any very material effect till the reign of King James the First, than the natives and these English settlers began to unite and form alliances. Their mutual enmity abated, and they joined in a rancorous hatred of the English nation, and hostility to it; the old English settlers growing as inveterate as the native Irish against the nation from which they sprung, joining in all schemes for severing the island from England for ever, and rendering it an Independent State. Such a project indeed had been always cherished by the native Irish, but was always opposed by the English settlers till after the Reformation. From this darling pursuit of the native Irish before the Reformation, strengthened by the junction of the English settlers with them after that period, a junction entirely effected by their common attachment to the doctrines of the Romish Church; and from such confederacy, cemented by bigotry, and inflamed by religious fury against their fellow-subjects, sprung Desmond's and Tyrone's rebellions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the horrible rebellion and massacre in that of Charles the First, and the obstinate and destructive rebellion in the reign of William and Mary. In each of these rebellions the most horrible cruelties were exercised by the Romish insurgents on all Protestants who fell into their hands; and the nation was three times successively desolated, and the Romanists, as vanquished rebels, reduced to abject poverty, from which they have not yet emerged. Above one half of the inhabit-

ants, at each time, perished by famine and the sword ; multitudes deserted the kingdom ; all improvements were destroyed ; the progress of industry was effectually impeded ; arts and sciences were banished ; and Ireland, by such means, though intimately connected with the richest, most civilized and industrious nation in the world, is now a century behind the rest of Europe in civilization and every species of valuable improvement, all owing to the superstitious attachment of a considerable portion of its inhabitants to the Romish faith, in opposition to the Protestant establishment. A large portion of its natives, all Romanists, is by the same cause continued in a semi-barbarous state. (See Tone's State of Ireland, for the Use of the French Convention.) In short, all the calamities which, for a course of two hundred years past and upwards, have overwhelmed this unhappy country, in the catalogue of which must be included the late rebellion (which this author, with sufficient confidence, asserts was not a Romish rebellion), and the murder in cold blood of all Protestants who fell into the hands of the insurgents, have had their real source in the Popery of part of the inhabitants of Ireland. *Such is the assistance which Popery without an establishment has afforded to Morality, Good Order, and Government, within this kingdom ! and such the true purposes of Religion which it has answered !*

This author's next position is, that the Revenue of the Church is part of the common stock left to the discretion of the State to employ to the best advantage of the *Community* ; from whence he deduces that it may justly withhold it from the support of the Protestant establishment ; not without throwing out a strong hint of the wisdom and generosity of applying it, or at least a part of it, to

the support or establishment of Romish priests in Ireland.

The Revenues and Property of the Church are by the British Constitution just as far disposible of by the State as the revenues and property of the Laity, and no further. The State has a right to demand a reasonable part of the property of all its subjects, laity and clergy, by way of tax, for the support of civil and military establishments, sufficient to secure the nation in peace at home, and cause it to be respected by foreign nations, to repel and punish their aggressions. Until of late years, when the regular sittings of convocations of the clergy came to be discontinued, they taxed themselves, and were not subject to taxation by the Commons. But this author means by his position, that the State has a right to seize on all the revenues and property of the Church at its pleasure, and to apply it to what use it pleases, that is, to confiscate it. This doctrine he very explicitly avows and maintains in the 31st page of his pamphlet. The State, being established for the protection, and not for the destruction of property, has no more right, by the British Constitution, to act in such manner in respect to the Church, than it has to seize on and confiscate all the estates and property of the Laity; neither has the State, by the same Constitution, any right to lay any greater tax on ecclesiastical than on lay property. Some of our countrymen, who have been educated in France, are constantly debasing our language by introducing Gallicisms into our phraseology: in the same way, those who have learned their politics in the modern French school, are for ever obtruding the flagitious, anarchical, political principles of the French Atheists upon us, as if they were part of our constitu-

tional principles, endeavouring thus to corrupt and debase our constitution. This author betrays his French institution and politics, and his utter ignorance of the constitution of his country, in numberless instances, one of which is, his doctrine respecting the inexpediency and inutility of a church establishment, and the justice of the confiscation of all church revenues. Under the influence, or rather pretended influence, of this doctrine, the French Atheists robbed their national clergy of all support, and then exterminated them, and all Christianity, with fire and sword; justifying their robbery and sacrilege by this doctrine; their murders and banishments, by the necessity of ridding themselves of the people they had robbed: indeed it has been, in all ages, the practice of French robbers to murder those they have plundered. Such are a few of the unconstitutional doctrines which this Romish writer has published for the perusal of the subjects of the British Empire! and such the arguments by which he attempts to recommend and justify the subversion of our constitution in Church and State, and the erection of Popery on its ruins!

Further to convince my readers, that admission into the Senate and the great offices of the State will not content the Romanists, and that they aim at nothing less than the overthrow of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, I will quote some of this author's complaints on the subject of tithes, almost the whole support of the parochial Protestant clergy of Ireland; and will at the same time note their falsity and malice, thinking this the proper place for doing so, as I am exposing his unfounded assertions respecting the property of the Church. In page 30 he observes, ' The religion of one man out of
 ' four

* four is Protestant. This religion is endowed with the
 * tithe of the whole kingdom, beside great property in
 * land, an immense church establishment.' In page 31
 he writes thus: ' Among the peasantry, the proportion
 * of Roman Catholics is much greater (than four to one).
 * After paying a tithe, *exactèd generally with great rigour,*
 * to support the established religion, of which they never
 * hear but by the tithe proctor, they must out of their po-
 * verty pay something to their own priest, who, nearly
 * as poor as themselves, lives with them, and renders
 * them many services.' In page 56, with respect to
 tithes, he thus expresses himself: ' This tax, and the
 * severity with which it is collected, is one of the great-
 * est grievances the people labour under ;' so that, accord-
 ing to this writer, the payment of tithes to the Protestant
 clergy by the Irish Romanists is a grievance to them as
 heavy at least as exclusion from the Senate and the great
 offices of the State, and consequently must be also re-
 dressed before they will consent to an Union. Very
 happy it is for Protestants, and sufficient to put them on
 their guard, that these Romish writers in general, when
 they plead for an extension of privileges to Romanists,
 before a Protestant tribunal, are so far transported by the
 rancour of their sect, that they cannot refrain from
 venting their venom against the Protestant religion and
 its pastors, even by the very interest of the sect whose
 cause they are pleading, nor conceal their projects of
 subversion of the Protestant establishment on the attain-
 ment of these privileges, at the very time they are soli-
 citing for them; nor their intentions to use them, in
 case they shall be invested with them, for the destruction
 of the very people from whom they are soliciting them.
 Their indiscreet impetuosity makes their claims appear

as reasonable as the sollicitation of a murderer would be, who should humbly request you to give him your sword for the purpose of plunging it into your heart. I will now proceed to examine the complaints of this writer respecting tithes.

In the first place he styles Tithes a Tax, to expose them to popular odium; the mass of the people in every country being adverse to the payment of Taxes. Taxes are certain sums of money assessed on, and levied from, the subjects of the realm, by the lawful authority of Parliament, to be applied to the support of Government and other public purposes. Tithes predial and mixt, the only tithes paid in this kingdom, are certain duties to be paid out of the produce and profits of lands, and beasts fed on lands, in nature of rent; but to be paid in kind, as all rents were heretofore paid in this nation, before money became so plentiful in Europe as in the present, and for a few immediately preceding ages. In fact, tithes are a rent with which all the lands in the kingdom are chargeable, for time immemorial, by the common law of the realm; and the clergy have been endowed with them by a title more ancient by ages than the title of any subject of this or any other kingdom in Europe, to his particular landed estate. The only difference between tithes as a rent, and the rent of any man's landed estate, is, that the rents reserved on landed estates in this kingdom are certain sums of money to be paid in lieu of a share of the produce; and tithes are an uncertain duty, being one tenth of the produce payable in kind, and therefore varying in quantity every year, as the crop varies, being greater or less, as the crop is greater or less annually. Every person whose lands are subject to
tithes,

tithes, if he purchased the lands himself, bought them subject to the duty or rent of tithes; if he inherited them from his ancestors, the purchasing ancestor, whoever he was, took them subject to the payment of tithes: from hence may be discovered either the ignorance or malice of this author, or both, in styling tithes a tax. He next states, *that this tax (that is, tithes) is exacted with great rigour and severity.* This is a very direct and impudent falsehood; and as this writer has himself a landed estate in Ireland, it is a falsehood to his own knowledge. It is a fact too well known to every landholder in this kingdom, that the Irish Protestant clergy in general do not receive above one-fifth part of what they are by law entitled to, of the value of their tithes; that is, one fiftieth part of the annual value of the produce of the lands, *to the tithe of which they are entitled:* for one third of the tithe of the whole kingdom is in lay hands, and many parts of it are exempt from the payment of any tithes whatsoever; the Protestant Dissenters, as well as the Romanists, pay tithes with great reluctance; and the clergyman, harassed with suits and chicane, is glad to accept of a very inadequate composition for his tithes, even in parishes where he is best paid. No personal tithes are paid in any part of Ireland, or demanded; and as for mixt tithes, they are paid very partially. The only species of them which is paid in any part of Ireland, is tithe of lamb and wool. Tithe of agistment, or tithe of milk in dairies, are never demanded or paid, though payable by the common law. No person in Ireland is better qualified to inform the public in general, on the subject of the collection of tithes, and the conduct of the established clergy in Ireland in that particular, than I am, from the nature of my profession and the offices I fill;

fill; and I can with the greatest truth aver, that the moderation of the established Clergy in Ireland, in the collection of their tithes, is unparalleled, when compared with the conduct of any other set of men in enforcing the satisfaction of their legal demands; particularly when the very scanty provision which the parochial Clergy in general in this kingdom have, is considered; the whole benefices in the nation, reputing each union one benefice, amounting only to about eight hundred, and the incumbents of at least one half of them are not paid an income of two hundred pounds per annum; and of the other half, there is a moiety whose incomes, actually paid, do not exceed three hundred pounds per annum each; and throughout the kingdom it has become necessary for the Bishops to unite a number of parishes, to ensure even a reasonable subsistence for a clergyman. The whole established Clergy of Ireland do not amount to more than one thousand three hundred; and were the whole revenues of the Church, of every nature, divided equally among them, each man would not receive more than about one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This the author, in page 31, styles *an immense church establishment*; and insolently adds, that no one can say it is *necessary or useful in general to the people of the country*. Such is the grievance people labour under from the severity with which Tithes are collected in Ireland, and the immensity of the Church Establishment, according to this author: it is, like his other pretended grievances, a lying invention of a malignant Irish Romanist.

His next complaint respecting tithes is, that the Romish peasantry, very poor from oppression, are obliged to pay them to the Protestant clergy, whose spiritual assistance

assistance they receive not ; and are at the same time obliged to contribute to the support of their own clergy for spiritual assistance they do receive from them ; that is, the Irish Romish peasantry pay the Protestant clergy by compulsion, without valuable consideration ; the Romish clergy by justice, for valuable consideration. Before I expose the falsity of this complaint, it may not be amiss to show the injustice of it. In every country in which there is an Established Religion, the people at large are obliged to contribute to the support of the ministers of it ; and it is but reasonable that they should do so, if a Church Establishment be necessary and useful in a State ; which all people, French philosophers excepted, admit. If any part of the subjects of a State dissent from the establishment (as is the case, more or less, in all Christian states), reject the assistance of the ministers of the establishment in spiritual concerns, and apply to ministers of their own selection for that purpose, it may be reasonable that they should pay those whom they have so selected ; but there is not the smallest just or reasonable ground for complaint, inasmuch as the ministers of the Established Church are ready to afford them spiritual aid, and to perform their appointed duty to them, as well as to the other subjects, if they choose to accept of their ministry. So much for the injustice of the complaint, supposing the matter of it were true. But the whole is founded on falsehood and sophistry ; for the peasantry do not pay tithe out of their own property, it is in fact paid by the landlords. The peasant takes a lease of his farm from the proprietor, subject to the payment of tithe ; and the landlord abates more than an equivalent for the annual tithe, in the yearly rent reserved payable to himself. Lands in Ireland which are tithe-free are let at an

annual

annual rent from a crown to half a crown per acre more than lands which are subject to tithes ; and in no part of the kingdom does the annual tithe, as it is paid, amount to so much on an average as the abatement in the annual rent amounts to ; so that, though the farmer pays the tithe, yet he does not pay it out of his own pocket,—it is really and *bona fide* paid out of the pocket of the landlord ; and the farmer in that respect is but his steward, and pays for him, and on his account. Of the landed estates in Ireland, on the most critical examination, it appears that forty-nine parts out of fifty are in the hands of Protestants ; so that Protestants pay forty-nine parts out of fifty of the tithe payable to the Protestant clergy : the Romish farmers do not pay a sixpence of it on their own accounts, and Romish landlords not above a fiftieth part. Every person acquainted with the true state of the kingdom knows the truth of the above statement. The Irish peasantry, in fact, would be in a worse condition if tithes were abolished ; for they would be obliged to pay an increase of their annual rents for their farms in such an event, vastly exceeding the sums which they now pay for the tithe of them ; and this is expressly admitted by Mr. Emmett, one of the Irish Directory, in his examination on oath before the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords. See the Appendix to their Report, No. 6, p. 32, where Mr. Emmett states thus : ‘ I am very sure, if tithes were abolished, the people, on taking new leases, would be obliged to pay more in proportion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes ;’ but he admits the leaders of the rebellion endeavoured to raise a popular cry for the abolition of tithes, as they did in favour of *Catholic Emancipation and Reform*, about all which, he admits, the people did not care a feather, till they

they persuaded them that certain imaginary advantages were to result from them; and that they, that is, the Irish Republicans, raised that popular cry, for the mere purpose of cajoling the mass of the people into a support of their own anarchical projects.

It may be clearly perceived, that this writer has the same purpose in view, by all his falsehoods and misrepresentations; and that he dwells on old subjects of complaint fraudulently aggravated, arising from the Popery code, long since repealed; on exaggerated accounts of the poverty and misery of the Irish peasantry, arising, as he asserts, from oppression, but really from repeated rebellions and disaffection; on false statements respecting tithes, severe exaction of them, and immense revenues in the possession of the Irish Protestant Clergy; and, in short, that he leaves no topic of inflammation, which can work on the passions of the Irish Romanists, either from the deep impressions of their bigotry or interest, untouched, for the purpose of goading them to insurrection and rebellion, and thereby essentially serving *his masters the French Convention*.

This author admits, that the Pope nominates all the Irish Roman bishops, but asserts 'that this gives him no real or essential jurisdiction in the Irish state, he and the whole Roman Catholic Church not having, nor pretending to have, in the Irish state the power of the meanest vestry.' How far this assertion is practically true, let any man judge, who has read the Oath of Allegiance taken by all Romish bishops to the Pope at their consecration, which I have already set forth. It is very true the Romish bishops have no tribunals in Ireland, in
which

which they pronounce decrees, the execution of which they can compel by the laws of the land, as they at present stand : yet it is equally true, that they have tribunals, vicars general and officials who do make and pronounce decrees in what they call spiritual matters, and in matrimonial causes especially, which highly affect the temporal concerns of the subjects of this realm ; and that they have ways and means of enforcing, and do enforce, the effectual execution of such decrees, of which I have within these few years come to the knowledge, in many instances : and although such their proceedings are forbidden by the laws of the realm under severe penalties, yet they continue the practice, have seals of office, and levy no inconsiderable sums on the subject for licences, dispensations, and other incidents of episcopal jurisdiction. If Romanists should be admitted to a share of the supreme authority of the State, and if any attempt should be made to carry the laws into execution against such illegal practices, what loud complaints should we hear of persecution ! and what harangues of Romish orators would be pronounced in the Senate on the score of the obstruction of the jurisdiction of their Bishops, liegemen of the Pope, in matters very intimately connected with the temporal interests of the subject ! and how incessant would their endeavours be to procure the repeal of such wholesome and restrictive statutes !

This author observes, ‘ that the Statute of Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, and the Statute of Præmunire (2d of Richard the Second), which secured ecclesiastical liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parliaments.’ It is to be noted, however, that the Statute of Magna Charta established all the usurpations of the
 Romish

Romish Church as they then stood (See chap. i. xxxiii. xxxviii. of it : 2d Coke's Institutes, page 2. 68. 76.) and only repressed and abolished prerogatives claimed by the Crown, which bore hard on an Aristocracy, clerical and lay, at that time of mighty power ; and that the statute of Richard the Second only went to restrain the introduction into the kingdom of the Pope's bulls which touched on *the King's Crown and Regality*, or his realm, and the execution of such : the Popedom at that time claiming, and attempting to exercise, an unlimited temporal authority within the realm, and usurping all the prerogatives of the Crown, which abuses it had principally introduced in the reign of King John. The statute did abrogate, or attempt to abrogate, the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals, and in all temporal matters incident to such spiritual supremacy : the authority of the Pope in spirituals and in temporals inseparably connected with them, remained unimpaired in the realm, and was executed therein, either by his own or the Bishop's officers, or by the officers of the Sovereign, notwithstanding that statute, as may be learned from our histories, till the time of Henry the Eighth : Richard's Parliament not designing to curtail, what they, being Romanists, believed to be the just portion of temporal power incident to the Pope's acknowledged supremacy in spirituals. Till the reign of Henry the Eighth appeals to Rome, though illegal before, had been always connived at. (See 4th vol. Blackstone's Commentaries, page 114.)

The concluding argument of this author for the admission of Romanists into the Senate, and into all places of trust and confidence within the realm, to wit, *a similar practice in many other States*, he introduces with an affecta-

tion of great politeness: his politeness indeed is much of the same kind with that of some modern men of nice honour, who affect all kind of ceremonious delicacy in their conduct, preparative to a premeditated quarrel, and mean to procure an excuse for shooting a man through the head, or running him through the heart, with the most perfect good breeding: he thus addresses the gentleman whose arguments he has undertaken to answer: ‘ I am almost
 ‘ afraid of being accused of impoliteness by adducing no-
 ‘ torious facts, which may look like gross and blunt con-
 ‘ tradictions of the assertions of a gentleman, who ought
 ‘ to have such good information upon the subject he treats.’

Before I proceed to the examination of the instances of the practice of other States, in respect to the indiscriminate distribution of honours, emoluments, and confidential offices in the civil and military departments, on Protestants and Romanists (instances almost all confined to Germany), which are adduced by this *foi-disant* well-informed writer, I must remark, that the Government of every one of them is despotic, and either in the hands of a single person, or in those of an oligarchy; and that the people at large have no share in the supreme power of the state; that is, their Governments have no democracy intermixed with them: no assembly, elected by the people for a certain term, and whose members at its expiration become part of the mass of the people, forms part of their sovereignties; and no arguments deduced from the practice in such States in the particulars above-mentioned will apply to a Government partly democratic, and the most efficient part of which is such a popular assembly as above described. In such States any particular religious tenet held by a part of the people, hostile to the principles of Government, can have but a very small mischievous effect; many civil and

all military offices may be disposed of by such despotic governments to any persons they may think capable of serving them, without regard to their religious persuasions, and without inconvenience to the system of government; for such officers can have no share or influence in the government, except through the medium of their despotic masters, who can dismiss them at their pleasure. In a Romish despotic government, the employment of Protestants in great and confidential offices can be of no public inconvenience, as well for the before-mentioned reason, as because there is no tenet of the Protestant religion which teaches the persecution of all Christians, princes and people, differing from Protestants in point of doctrine, as heretics with fire and sword; no tenet which teaches them to overturn the government which does not share its sovereignty with a foreign tribunal. It is much safer for a Romish State to employ Protestants in great offices, than for a Protestant State to employ Romanists.

The Saxon State œconomy this author produces with a sort of triumphant exultation, as a decisive proof of the truth of his deductions; ‘ he states it to be a Roman Catholic government in a Protestant country, the very reverse of Ireland: to make the contrast complete, Protestant and Catholic enjoy every privilege without distinction. *The revenue of the Church, small but adequate, is given to those who do the service of it in either way.* The peasantry are without any exception the happiest, most comfortable, and most contented in the world; the higher ranks remarkable for their martial and honourable spirit, the Sovereign is a father of all his subjects. But a stronger and more extraordinary fact remains,

' mains, to confound the friends and abettors of religious
 ' jealousy and animosity. The Protestants of Germany,
 ' certainly not indifferent to the interests of their religion,
 ' could not find a properer person to entrust them to, than
 ' to this very Roman Catholic Prince, who is selected by
 ' themselves to be the chief of the Protestant Union, and
 ' to watch over the treaties made in their favour.

But this well-informed author, notwithstanding the amazing extent of his knowledge, seems to be totally ignorant of the specific differences of the constitution of the British Empire from that of any other country in the world, and the necessary political effects of such differences in the internal regulations of a State, one efficient part of whose sovereignty is a popular assembly, when contrasted with the internal political regulations of a despotic government. The Elector of Saxony is as despotic a prince as any in Europe within his own territories; his subjects, in a political sense, are complete slaves; there is no spice of democracy mingled with his power: in his State the Sovereign may be truly called the father of his people, in the same sense that the author of '*Killing no Murder,*' gives that title to Cromwell. 'Your Highness,' says he, '*is the true father of your people, for we have nothing during your life that we can call our own.*' If the subjects of this Elector, the highest ranks, as well as the peasantry, are the happiest and most contented in Europe, as this author states, it must follow that abject political slavery is productive of the greatest happiness to the subject; a doctrine which will not be relished by the subjects of the British Empire: God preserve us from such happiness! I remember an instance of the Elector of Saxony's mild government of his subjects, which was
 published

published throughout Europe above thirty years ago. He received information that a Saxon peasant had killed a deer; he caused him to be seized, stripped naked, pinnioned, and strongly tied on the back of a stag, which was immediately turned loose into the forests: the wild animal, affrighted, and rather uneasy under so arbitrary an imposition, ran furiously through the woods, till the unhappy rider was torn to pieces by the projecting branches of trees, and the thorny brambles of the wild.

At the first dawning of the Reformation in Germany, the then Elector of Saxony, one of the most potent princes of the Germanic Union, became the professed patron of Luther; he protected him from the fury of the Romanists, and himself as well as his subjects became Protestants, as did many other German potentates with their people. The Emperor, at the instigation of the Pope, and other Romish ecclesiastics, commenced a furious war against these Protestants; it raged with great violence for many years, and incalculable mischief was done to both parties; the Elector of Saxony, as the most considerable Protestant prince, being at the head of the Protestants: till at length both sides, wearied and wasted by the calamities of war, entered into treaties of peace; the Elector of Saxony, then a Protestant, being selected by his Protestant co-estates as chief of the Union. (See Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, vol. ii. book ii. page 100. ; book v. page 352. 355. ; vol. iii. book x. p. 201. octavo edition.) About the beginning of the present century, the then Elector of Saxony apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, and became a Romanist, his subjects being Protestants; and his successors have continued Romanists to this day. The ancestor of the Elector of Saxony, being a Protestant, was by the before-mentioned treaties acknowledged chief of the

the Protestant Germanic Union ; but all Germany knows that the present Elector, being a Romanist, is not considered or acknowledged as such, though the treaties exist ; and that he could not be considered as such, even if he were a Protestant, because he is infinitely inferior in power to the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, who is now in fact the head of the Protestant Germanic Union, and is so considered.

The Elector of Saxony being a despotic, in respect to his constitutional authority over his own subjects, is yet a dependant prince in respect to the Emperor and his co-estates, being but a member of the German Empire : hence he cannot attempt to innovate in the established religion of his country, and substitute the Romish faith in the room of the Protestant, because the Protestant States of the Empire would certainly interfere to prevent him, and would be obliged by the above-mentioned treaties to do so : his subjects, secured in the enjoyment of their religious establishment by the constitution of the German Empire, and their religion teaching them no doctrines hostile to their Romish Sovereign, acquiesce under the government of a Romanist : and as to the enjoyment of every privilege indiscriminately by Protestant and Romanist, very little mischief is to be apprehended on that account in a State, where the Sovereign is despotic, and the people entitled to no privilege, save what the Sovereign pleases to bestow : benefits springing entirely from his favour cannot with propriety be called privileges.

The above reasoning applies to every instance quoted by this author of the indiscriminate advancement of Romanists and Protestants under the German governments ; but he is not able to quote one instance of such indiscriminate

criminate advancement in any popular government in Christendom : the Swiss States were almost all oligarchical, and very despotic : and in the Dutch State, which had a great mixture of democracy in it, and which held out universal toleration and protection to the professors of all sects, no person of a different religious persuasion from that of their establishment, before the French subverted their constitution, was suffered to sit as a member of their States General.

This author, with no small degree of sophistry and assurance coupled together, observes, that the Saxon government is the direct reverse of that of Ireland, for there the government (that is, the Elector) is Roman Catholic, and the country Protestant; thus indirectly asserting, that the religion of the people of Ireland in general is Romish, though the government be Protestant. The truth is, the religion of the people of Ireland, if determined by the religion of the majority reckoned by the poll, would be Romish by a majority of two to one : if reckoned by property, would be Protestant by a majority of forty to one ; so that it may be justly asserted from fair calculation, exclusive of its being the one established, that the religion of Ireland is Protestant. The author does not forget to insinuate in his account of Saxony, that Romish Irish priests should enjoy part at least of the revenue of the Church in Ireland, by observing, that in Saxony the *small* but *adequate* revenue of the Church is given to those who do the service of it in either way : which observation, however, is false with respect to that electorate in general. And this author's *extraordinary fact confounding all his opposers* turns out to be a fabrication of his own, the materials of which are fraud and ignorance.

This author attempts to furnish an argument in favour of his positions, from the liberality of the French monarchical government to their Protestant subjects: he asserts, ‘ that the Protestants in those parts of France
 ‘ where they were in any proportion to the Catholics,
 ‘ were exactly in the same situation as they. Such was
 ‘ the case of Alsatia ceded to France by the treaty of
 ‘ Munster; the rights of Protestants in that province were
 ‘ respected.’ Alsace was no part of the realm of France, it was a part of Germany acquired by the arms and treachery of the French monarch: the inhabitants were Protestants. A treaty of peace being concluded between France and Germany, and this province ceded to France, the free exercise of the religion of the inhabitants was stipulated for, and made one of the conditions of the treaty; as the province bordered on the territories of the enemies of France, and might revolt, the French Government thought it prudent to reconcile the inhabitants to their new masters, by an adherence to the treaty so far as to indulge them in the free exercise of their religion: it was useful to the French to do so; and could not be detrimental, inasmuch as the people of the province have no share in the government, which is despotic: a sort of political necessity insured the observation of the treaty, otherwise it may be fairly presumed, that this most faithless of all nations would not have hesitated at violating the conditions. The conduct of that nation in violating the Edict of Nants, and persecuting the Protestants throughout all their ancient limits, in the true spirit of Popery, with fire, sword, and the gallies, particularly in Languedoc, where they continued to hunt them like wild beasts, till the dissolution of the monarchy, fully justifies such a presumption.

The author then states, ‘ that Mr. Neckar, who was
 ‘ Prime Minister, Marechal Saxe many years Com-
 ‘ mander in Chief of the armies in France, Marechals
 ‘ Lovendal, Luckner, Wurmser, and innumerable other
 ‘ Protestants, were high in civil and military rank in
 ‘ France.’ I have already shown, that, as to the security
 of government and the religion established, it is but of
 little moment what the religious persuasion of military
 officers is in despotic monarchies, as was that of France ;
 and that the religion even of civil officers in such govern-
 ments is not a matter of much public concern : yet I deny
 that there were innumerable instances in France before the
 Revolution, of Protestants being high in civil or military
 rank : the instances of that kind were very few, and the
 author has enumerated the most of them. But what in-
 fatuation induced him to resort to the instance of Mr.
 Neckar, a Protestant, being Prime Minister of France?
 He was indeed Prime Minister of that devoted country, and
 was by reputation a Calvinist, but in truth, an Atheist ;
 and the fruits of his ministry in France were, the over-
 throw of its ancient government, the subversion of its esta-
 blished religion and of all Christianity, and the desolation
 of the kingdom. And this author holds up the fatal pro-
 motion in France of this monster of perfidy and treason,
 an enemy to the established religion and constitution of
 that country, as an argument to induce Irish Protestants
 to betray the sovereignty of the State into the hands of
 Irish Romanists, the inveterate enemies of its established
 Religion and Constitution.

This author, in page 39, makes the following obser-
 vation : ‘ One cannot help pitying a government, which
 ‘ seems to be in constant terror of the prosperity of its
 ‘ own

' own subjects. Their number, their riches, their spirit,
 ' their civil and military talents, are so many objects of
 ' fear.' This is his picture of the government of Ireland!
 The Irish government has used every endeavour which
 sound policy can dictate, to increase the prosperity of
 all its subjects: their number, their riches, their spirit,
 their civil and military talents, are the objects of its ap-
 plauses, of its proud and honourable exultation: but a
 certain class of Irish subjects are, from religious bigotry,
 incurable enemies to the constitution of their country in
 Church and State; sound policy directs, that such should
 be excluded from the sovereign power of the State, which
 they must wield, if invested with it, for the subversion of
 the constitution; and prevented from using either their
 number, their riches, their spirit, or their talents, for the
 ruin of their fellow-subjects and of the constitution. The
 Irish Protestants fear not Irish Romanists, either from
 their boasted numbers or puissance; they know their own
 strength, and rely on their own courage, of both which
 they have given Romish Rebels recent proofs; their con-
 duct in such exclusion is not the effect of fear, but of
 wisdom and prudence: it is not cowardice in the garrison
 of an impregnable fortress, the safety and protection of a
 realm, to refuse entrance into it to their irreconcilable
 enemies, whose numbers or courage, when on the outside,
 can be no objects of terror. How can it be said with jus-
 tice or reason, that Irish Protestants put any impediments
 in the road of Irish Romanists to wealth and prosperity,
 or in their paths to military renown? Is not the army
 now open to them? Are not trade, and all the avenues of
 honest industry, as open to them, as to their Protestant
 fellow-subjects? Are not their lives and properties equally
 protected by the laws? How false then, how malicious,
 how

how insolent, and how petulant, is the above inveſtive of this Romiſh writer againſt the Iriſh Government!

I will now point the reader's attention to thoſe parts of the author's pamphlet, in which he throws out the moſt audacious threats of rebellion and reſiſtance againſt the lawful authority of the State. Theſe he introduces under the guiſe of advice, or ſuggeſts them as the natural conſequences of what he ſtyles the oppreſſion of the Romaniſts in Ireland by their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects and the State. In pages 6, 7, and 8, he obſerves, ' that it ' is dangerous, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds all ' over the world, to exclude formally three millions out ' of four, in a detached country, from the juſt and rea- ' ſonable rights which they ſee their fellow ſubjects en- ' joy; and that the idea of preſerving ſuch an eſtabliſh- ' ment by force is abſurd and impracticable.' And then, after obſerving on the ſucceſs of the Netherlands in throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and their right to do ſo, *he inſinuates that in Ireland, Separation from Great Britain, and Independency, ſhould be maintained at all hazards;* and concludes with the maxim of one of the French demagogues, *that inſurrection is the moſt ſacred of our duties;* pretending to deduce the juſtice of theſe reaſonable aphoriſms from a paſſage in the pamphlet of his antagonist.

Further to ſtimulate the Iriſh Romaniſts to rebellion, and to ſharpen their natural rancour againſt the Britiſh ſoldiery, he accuses the Engliſh Militia, who gallantly volunteered for the aſſiſtance of their brethren the Proteſtants of Ireland, of gratifying their luſt by brutal violations of the Iriſh females, in the following paſſage :

' From

‘ From accounts which the papers give of the gallantry of
 ‘ the British Militia with the fair, as well as in the field
 ‘ one would imagine they had read Mr. C.’s pamphlet, and
 ‘ were imitating the Romans in settling the preliminaries of
 ‘ union with the Sabines.’ The good conduct and strict
 discipline of the British Militia, which lately came into
 Ireland, have been praised by the two Houses of Parlia-
 ment, and by every loyal man in the kingdom; and for
 this most groundless calumny the slanderous author had
 no other authority than his own malice. He then pro-
 ceeds, with the utmost virulence, to abuse the policy of
 Great Britain in respect to foreign nations, asserting that
 she has thereby ruined herself, and is now a bankrupt,
 with which it would be highly imprudent for Ireland to
 have any connexion. He lays to the charge of her Mi-
 nistry all the calamities which, as he states, have afflicted
 Ireland for a series of ages; and asserts that the dawn of
 improvement in the state of Ireland commenced with
 her asserting some degree of independence on England in
 the year 1780. (See pages 9, 10.) Then, after styling
 the Protestant Religion a Medusa’s head, which paralyzes
 a large portion of our people, *or turns their arms against
 each other* (thereby admitting, what he in other places
 denies, that the last Rebellion, as well as preceding ones,
 was a Romish rebellion), he recites the triumphs of the
 Republic of France, and magnifies her power: he states,
*that a war between Great Britain and Ireland is not pro-
 bable, if the people are satisfied; but is to be feared, if the
 causes of discontent are not removed.* By the people, this
 author, throughout his pamphlet, means Romanists ex-
 clusively; and the principal causes of complaint which
 he enumerates, are the exclusion of the members of the
 Romish sect from Parliament, and from the great offices

of the State; that is, from a share in the sovereignty of the State; thus declaring in the most explicit terms, *that the Irish Romanists will commence hostilities against Great Britain and the Protestants of Ireland, in confederacy with France, if they do not obtain a share in the sovereignty.* (See page 17.) He further proceeds thus: ‘ It is dangerous, it is almost treason against the cause of all regular society, *attacked as it is by powerful enemies,* to trifle in this manner with the feelings of three millions of people, by excluding them from those rights for which they are called upon to risk their lives.’ (See page 23.) Then, after acknowledging that the late Irish Rebels, forming the Directory, were in treaty with France for their assistance to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and praising this Directory for their principles of patriotism manifested in the conduct of the treaty, he proceeds to encourage rebellion, by insinuating the probability of success, from the situation of Ireland, and the certainty of French support. ‘ Of late,’ he observes, ‘ the theory of insurrection has almost forced itself upon every speculative mind. A province distant from the seat of empire is much more liable to the intrigues of an enemy than one that has it in its centre.’ (See page 24.) He proceeds in pretty much the same strain to page 30, in which he inserts a quotation from Mariana, importing, that all poor persons in a State will be enemies to it, if all hopes of emerging are taken away from them; which may be very true, but gives no support to the author’s arguments. Mariana does not mean that all beggars in a State will rebel, if the hope of emerging into the sovereignty of the State is taken away from them; he means the hope of emerging into opulence: such is the precise meaning of the passage.

page. But the means of emerging from poverty into opulence are, by our Constitution, as open to poor Romanists as to poor Protestants. The author seems to have inserted the quotation for the mere purpose of showing his learning: it cannot be distorted to signify that beggars will be disaffected to the State, unless they have grounds to hope that they may be kings.

This author, then, for the mere purpose of inflammation, falls on the Irish Popery Code, which has been some time since, perhaps injudiciously, certainly too hastily, repealed. He thus describes it and its effects: ‘Laws which for a century cramped the industry of a people, debarred them from education, armed the brother against the brother, and rewarded the son for betraying the father, excluded the Roman Catholics from Protestant schools, prevented them from having schools of their own, and proscribed foreign education.’ (See pages 4. 10.) ‘These laws left a people poor, ignorant, with little respect for law, and ferocious from a sense of injury. They rendered property insecure, prevented the cultivation of land, the interior confidence of families, the extension of trade, or the employment of the talents or genius of three fourths of the people in civil or military affairs.’ (See page 34.) At present I shall only observe, that England had her Popery Code as well as Ireland, very similar to, and almost the same with the Irish; and that this Code, though the Irish one be repealed, is still in force, as to many parts of it, in England. I shall hereafter make further observations on this author’s strictures on the Irish Popery Code; but shall first show that the strength and puissance of the Irish Romanists are not so great or formidable,

formidable, nor their threatened rebellion, even though supported by France, so dangerous to the Irish Government, or to the British Empire in general, as this author represents them. In the second place, I shall prove that the late Irish Rebellion was a Romish Rebellion: in doing which I shall be obliged to delineate some of the cruelties exercised by the Rebels on their Protestant fellow-subjects. In the third place, I shall show that all the rebellions of Irish Romanists are excited, encouraged, and even commanded, by the positive tenets of their religion: from whence it will directly follow as a corollary, that the mass of Irish Romanists, as long as they continue of that persuasion, must be justly considered by the State as subjects whose fidelity cannot be relied upon; and that such checks should be held over them as may prevent their disturbing the State, even after an Incorporating Union shall take place.

As to the first, I have already proved, that Irish Romanists do not exceed Irish Protestants in number, in a greater proportion than that of two to one; and this proof I have founded on every rational ground of inquiry or investigation, which have in that particular been ever adopted. (See Appendix, No. 1.) I have already shown, as to the mass of property in Ireland, real and personal, that the part of it in the hands of Protestants is to that in the hands of Romanists in the proportion of forty to one. (See Appendix, No. 1.) Now as the strength of a nation, for defence and offence, is in a ratio composed of its numbers and its wealth, so likewise is the relative strength of two contending parties within it: hence it is demonstrable, that the Protestants of Ireland alone are fully able to repress the threatened rebellion of the Irish Romanists; and

and this was fully and practically proved in the late Romish Rebellion, which was suppressed by the Army, Militia, and Protestant Yeomanry of Ireland.

It is well known in Ireland, that this Rebellion might have been prevented and nipped in the bud, if vigorous measures had been timely adopted by the Irish Government. The then Lord Lieutenant (Earl Camden) was a man of great honour and integrity, and a determined friend to the Constitution in Church and State. The principal men in power in the kingdom were of similar character. The information respecting the schemes and designs of the conspirators was complete, and called for the most speedy and strenuous exertions of the State to defeat them. The Irish Parliament conferred the most ample authority on the Executive Government; yet the delay of exertion was remarkable and notorious. Most thinking people attributed the backwardness of Government in seizing and punishing these Catholics, and their associates, to a British influence in our councils. It is supposed that the powers of the Chief Governor were shackled by orders from England. The state of affairs in Ireland had been grossly misrepresented to men in power in England, and those misrepresentations had taken deep root. The late Mr. *Edmund Burke*, an Irish gentleman resident in England, had projected the total subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland so early as the year 1761; and having ingratiated himself with the Secretary of the Marquis of Halifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he returned to his native country in his suite. He then began his operations for carrying his project into execution. He found, however, the current of opinion in Ireland against his innovations

innovations too strong for his stemming it. England was at that time triumphant over France, and no assistance was to be expected from that quarter; and his own credit in England was not then near so great as it afterwards was. He was obliged to suspend his operations at that time, and retire unsuccessful to England. As soon, however, as the American war blazed forth, he recommenced them with all the vigour in his power. He published a Letter, addressed to a Romish Irish Nobleman, which is exactly of the same nature with the pamphlet I am now remarking on: indeed all the arguments in this pamphlet are taken from the Letter. Mr. Burke therein paints in the most glowing colours, the hardships which Romanists endured in Ireland from the effect of the Popery Laws; he boldly asserts their undoubted right to every privilege enjoyed by Irish Protestants; he exaggerates their number and strength, and threatens the British Empire with the exertion of them against its then tottering power, as he describes it: in short, he dwells on every topic of inflammation of Irish Romanists, on every encouragement, on every provocation to revolt against Britain in her then distressed situation; mixing, throughout the whole, the grossest misrepresentations of the state of Ireland. This Letter he followed with a succession of publications, all in the same strain, under the titles of Letters, Speeches, and Essays, in the daily Newspapers, Reviews, Magazines, Annual Registers, &c. and continued them to the day of his death. His parents were Irish Romanists; he was endowed with very showy talents; his style was elegant; he was well read in all parts of polite literature; he was laborious and indefatigable: but his vanity, the attendant on a weak judgment, was unbounded; and his zeal for promoting

promoting all the political views of Popery was enthusiastic. This zeal will account for the extraordinary anomalies in his political conduct. He had recommended himself to the late Marquis of Rockingham, and by his interest he obtained a seat in the British House of Commons. During the American and French war, no man in England was a stronger advocate for the Americans. In his speeches in Parliament he supported all their pretensions, he justified all their proceedings, and often pointed out the measures, in the British House of Commons, for distressing Britain, which the Americans afterwards pursued; in short, on all occasions he appeared a determined republican, and at the same time used the most strenuous efforts to urge the Irish Romanists to revolt, for the purpose of increasing the embarrassments of the British Government. (See the Annual Register, and History of the late War, chiefly written by Mr. Burke.) At the time it pleased the Almighty to visit His Majesty with a grievous malady, which suspended his exercise of the kingly functions, when his recovery was doubtful, and the mind of every honest and loyal man in the nation sinking under dismal apprehensions of impending evils, and his heart bursting with grief for the danger of his beloved Sovereign, Mr. Burke exultingly declared in the House of Commons, *that God had hurled His Majesty from his throne.* Impious triumph of republican malignity! At no very long interval after this transaction, the French Revolution blazed forth like a volcano, consumed the Monarchy, Religion, Laws, and Constitution of that country; established a Republic, and proclaimed war and hostility against all Kings. In the progress of their career, the French leaders reduced to practice the whole theory of all Mr. Burke's republican

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Lessons,

lessons, which he had read with so much success to the Americans, from whom the French derived all their political instruction. Mr. Burke suddenly renounced all his former principles, and employed his polluted pen, yet stained with democratic ink, in reprobating, with the utmost energy, all the proceedings of the French Democrats, though their enormities were committed in conformity to the principles laid down in his former political lectures. It must be admitted that he sung his palinodia with great success and applause. He exposed, with much justice, force, and perspicuity, the treason, wickedness, and cruelty, of the French Anarchists; developed their arts and deceptions with great acuteness, and raised the abhorrence of the British nation, as well against them, as against a faction of atheistical republicans at home, who attempted to spread the contagion of the desolating Gallic doctrines through the British dominions: But to what cause can this sudden change in Mr. Burke's political conduct be attributed? I can guess at no other than his enthusiastic zeal for the advancement of the political pursuits and interests of the Romish Church, of which he has shown himself, for a series of years, the professed advocate. The French atheistical usurpers proscribed Christianity and all its professors: they consequently proscribed Popery, the heretofore established religion of France, with all its interests, and confiscated the whole Church Revenues. This excited Mr. Burke's rage and resentment against them; and hence his reprobation of their republicanism. In one of his publications he complains, in the bitterness of his heart, that they have pulled down the *Majesty* of Religion; and Popery certainly does affect great external pomp and grandeur. However, if any person shall suggest a more

probable cause of the sudden alteration in the political conduct of Mr. Burke, I shall readily relinquish my hypothesis. This gentleman, very unfortunately for the repose of Ireland, and consequently of Great Britain, has influenced some men of great rank and power in England to concur with him in the project of communicating with the Irish Romanists the supreme power of the State, by admitting them into Parliament; and has had the address, at the same time, to persuade them, by gross mistatement, that the Romanists are powerful enough in Ireland to compel an acquiescence in such their ambitious views, and that it is therefore good policy to give that which cannot be withheld. He has also, by the same means, persuaded them, in defiance of truth, that the Irish Romanists are grievously oppressed by their Protestant fellow-subjects; that they are Monarchists; the Irish Protestants, Republicans. He has worked on their generosity, by preaching up the doctrines of Liberality, Conciliation, Emancipation, and Reform; concealing under such specious names and titles, Romish Persecution, Rancour, Subversion and Proscription of the Protestant Religion, Democracy, and Separation, the certain consequences of the success of his projects.

Evident marks of the progress of Mr. Burke's doctrines in favour of the Irish Romanists may be discovered in most of the Speeches of great and powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England on the subject of Union, copies of which have been published, and will be hereafter noticed. *This sect of British Politicians may be distinguished by the name of Burkiests;* and from the power and influence of this sect, fatally misinformed and misled with respect to the affairs and state of Ireland,
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the procrastination and delay of vigorous measures for prevention of the Rebellion are generally attributed ; and to the same source may be traced many of the measures lately pursued, and, I am sorry to say, still pursuing, in Ireland, which give the highest disgust to the whole body of Irish Protestants, and which, instead of promoting an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, are in fact throwing obstacles in the way of it ; all which, however, I have the strongest hopes that the good sense of the nation will surmount.

I have stated that the late Irish Rebellion was suppressed by the Protestants of Ireland. To prove that fact, it is only necessary to recur to dates. The Rebellion broke out on the 23d of May 1798. The whole Regular Army, the Militia, and the Yeomanry, then in the kingdom, were the proper forces of Ireland, and paid by Ireland. Most of the regular troops had, at different periods before, been sent out of the kingdom on foreign service, and their places supplied by Fencible Regiments, many of them Scotch ; but as these troops were paid by the Irish Treasury, and were sent in lieu of the Irish trained troops employed on foreign expeditions, I do not account them British troops sent to our assistance in preventing or suppressing the Rebellion. On the 23d of May 1798, the day the Rebellion broke out, the towns of Naas, Carlow, Baltinglass, Monastereven, and Clane, were attacked, and the Rebels beaten at them all, principally by the Irish Militia and Yeomen. On the 29th of the same month, General Sir James Duff defeated a large body of Rebels at Kildare, and opened the passage from Dublin to Munster, which had been obstructed by them. On the same day

the town of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, was attacked by a great body of Rebels, commanded by one Murphy, the Romish Priest of a neighbouring parish. It was defended by the Protestant Yeomanry alone. It was an open place, without fortification, and the Yeomen fought with them at the outskirts of the town. The contest was long and bloody. The Yeomanry amounted to about three hundred only; the Rebels to more than twice as many thousands. Forty-seven of the Yeomanry were killed, and above five hundred of the Rebels. When the Romish inhabitants of the town found their rebel friends recoiling, they set fire to the houses, mostly thatched, in the rear of the Yeomanry, and obliged them, from smoke and heat, to file off from the town, which the Rebels then entered; and this gallant body of men retreated unmolested to Wexford, about eleven miles. The Rebels had, on the preceding day, defeated a party of about one hundred of the North Cork Regiment of Militia, put them every man to death, except three who escaped, and got possession of their muskets and ammunition, with which they greatly galled the Enniscorthy Yeomanry. On this success, the Peasantry of the country, being for the most part Romanists, joined the Rebels, and they marched on to Wexford, being a sea-port, and the county town. There were but few troops in the place. Some Gentlemen in the neighbourhood raised Yeomanry Corps; but having imprudently enrolled Romanists among them, they to a man deserted to the Rebels, with their arms and ammunition; and there were multitudes of Romish inhabitants in the town, who showed evident signs of disaffection. These circumstances induced the Commander of the troops to take the resolution of abandon-
ing

ing it, and marching to Duncannon Fort, a strong place about thirty miles distant, whither he immediately marched, with all the Protestant Yeomanry of both the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy; and the Rebels took possession of this sea-port town on the 30th of May 1798.

On this success of the Rebels, the whole Romanists of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, and Carlow, joined them. They defeated a detachment of the army, which had marched from Dublin to the relief of the Wexford Protestants, under Colonel Walpole, a brave man, but an unskilful commander, who suffered himself to be surprised by this banditti. He paid the forfeit of his life to his rashness: his party retired into the county of Wicklow, and took post at Arklow. The Rebels, elated with this success, mustered their forces, and marched to attack the town of Ross, which, with Duncannon Fort and the town of Newtown-Barry, were the only places in the county of Wexford occupied by the Loyalists. The Regiment of Militia of the county of Dublin, commanded by Lord Mountjoy, with some other troops and Yeomanry Corps, had taken post in Ross, all under the command of Generals Johnson and Eustace, both Irish officers. Their whole force amounted to about fifteen hundred. The town is not fortified: there are some remains of an old wall, which formerly surrounded it, but it is now in ruins. The Rebels commenced the assault with a body of twenty-five thousand men. The troops received them outside the town. The Rebels, to disorder the troops, drove before them, with their pikes, a vast number of horses and oxen. They had some field-pieces and howitzers, which they had taken

at the rout of a small detachment of the garrison of Duncannon Fort, sent out against them very imprudently by the Governor; and also when they defeated the troops under Colonel Walpole: their leaders had also distributed among them a considerable quantity of whiskey, to render them the more desperate by intoxication. They attacked the troops with great fury; and Lord Mountjoy was killed, gallantly fighting at the head of his regiment. This Nobleman was the first person who introduced a bill into the Irish Parliament for the repeal of a part of the Popery Code, and unfortunately felt the bitter effects and inefficiency of his own system of conciliation. The weight of the Rebel column, after a furious contest, forced the troops into the town, and the battle was continued fiercely in the streets; till at length the courage and discipline of the Loyalists prevailed, and the Rebels were compelled, after a dreadful carnage, to retreat. Their slain in the streets of the town and suburbs amounted to two thousand two hundred, exclusive of numbers who crawled away from the battle, and died afterwards of their wounds. The Military were so fatigued, that they were not able to pursue them. The battle, from the commencement of the assault to the final retreat of the Rebels, lasted eight hours. This was the first great and decisive advantage gained over the Rebels. The battle was fought on the 5th of June 1798, and was gained principally by the undaunted bravery of the Irish Militia and Yeomanry, conducted by two Irish officers.

The Rebel Army not being dispersed at Ross, their leaders determined to try their fortune again; and in a few days after their unsuccessful attack on Ross, they

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marched

marched to the other side of the county of Wexford, and assaulted the town of Arklow, lying on the great road from Wexford to Dublin, about thirty-three miles from that city. They commenced their assault on this town, which is also unfortified, with a body of eighteen thousand men. The troops quartered there under General Needham did not exceed twelve hundred; notwithstanding which the Rebels were repulsed with great slaughter, chiefly by the courage of the regiments of Cavan Militia, commanded by Colonel Barry, and Durham Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Skerret, together with a considerable body of Yeomanry.

On the 7th of June 1798, a body of Rebels suddenly assembled in the county of Antrim in the northern part of the kingdom, rushed furiously into the town of Antrim, where many of the gentlemen of the county, and several justices of the peace, were assembled, and among the rest Lord O'Neil: a skirmish ensued between the Rebels and the Yeomen of the town, who, though surpris'd, immediately ran to their arms, and collected themselves into a body. Lord O'Neil received a mortal wound. It was remarked, as in the case of Lord Mountjoy, that this Peer, a very amiable man, when he sat in the House of Commons, was one of the most zealous supporters of the repeal of the Popery Code, and such were the fruits of his exertions in that cause! About the same time the Rebels rose in a part of the county of Down, but were immediately attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by General Nugent, who commanded the troops at Belfast. This insurrection broke out on the estate of the Earl of Moira, most of whose tenants were actively engaged in it; which tends to show how miserably his Lordship was deceived; who
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not long before had visited his estate in Down, and resided in his mansion-house at Ballinahinch for some time ; and on his return to England praised the exemplary loyalty of the inhabitants of the county of Down in the House of Peers, and particularly of his own tenants ; yet this very town was then a magazine of arms for the Rebels, and his tenants were deeply engaged in the conspiracy for a Rebellion. Such were the dissimulation and secrecy of these traitors, that they could impose on this loyal Peer, in his own mansion-house, on his own estate ! These were the only insurrections in the north of Ireland ; they were quelled in a few days.

The Rebels in the county of Wexford, where the chief force of the Leinster insurgents was concentrated, after their defeats at Ross and Arklow already mentioned, drew their main body together, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, to Enniscorthy ; and encamped on a high and steep hill, called Vinegar Hill, adjacent to that town, which it overlooks and commands ; the Slaney, a very considerable river, running at the base of the hill in a winding channel, and washing one half of its circumference. This was a very strong post, and if well defended might have bid defiance to a considerable army. Defeated as the Rebels had been, they seemed to have given up the idea of offensive operations, till their French succours should arrive, which they impatiently expected ; and relying on the strength of their position, determined to await there the attack of the Royal army, which they knew was assembling on all sides : they had at the same time a numerous garrison in the town of Wexford, a sea-port ; and were in possession of the whole sea-coast of that county from Arklow to the mouth of Waterford harbour ;

all

all which their position effectually covered ; and the run from thence to the coast of France, particularly to Brest, was short ; they had some good cannon and howitzers, and were in no want of ammunition. The Royal army, a great part of which was Militia and Yeomen, attacked them on the 20th of June 1798, drove them from their position after a feeble resistance ; and the whole body would have been killed or taken prisoners, had not one column of the army, by some mistake of orders, marched in a direction different from that in which it ought to have been conducted, and did not arrive at its appointed station in proper time ; so that a gap was left by which almost the whole rebel army escaped, but in the greatest disorder ; part of them flying towards the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of mountains separating the counties of Carlow and Wexford.

The Rebels in the town of Wexford, hearing of the defeat, abandoned the town, and fled with that party which shaped its course to the Wicklow mountains. The rebel party which retreated towards the mountains of Carlow, got from thence into the Kilkenny mountains, and there assaulted the little town of Castlecomer ; the garrison of Kilkenny, which had marched from thence to oppose them, commanded by Sir Charles Apgill, declining to attack this routed banditti, headed by a Romish priest, of the name of Murphy, a drunken ruffian : but a considerable body of Yeomanry from the adjacent Queen's County, with the gallant Colonel Pole at their head, advanced against them, compelled them to retreat, and pursued them with activity : their brave leader sent advice of his success to Sir Charles Apgill, who again marched out of Kilkenny, joined the Yeomanry, and both fell on
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this party of fugitive Rebels, in number about five thousand, routed them with a very great slaughter, and completely dispersed them : Murphy, their leader, fled drunk from the field of battle, and was shortly after taken at Tullow in the county of Carlow, and hanged. All these transactions happened within a few days after the rout of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill on the 20th of June 1798 ; and from that time it may be justly said, that the Rebellion was extinguished : for though the party which fled to the mountains of Wicklow was compelled by hunger to descend into the plain country, and to make an inroad into the county of Meath, yet it was divided into small detached bodies, which were hunted from place to place by the Yeomanry, and speedily destroyed ; very few of them escaping back to the mountains. In fact, the battle of Vinegar Hill put an end to the last Irish Rebellion.

The dates of each memorable action in this short, but bloody and wasteful Rebellion, are noted, to prove, that the suppression of it was effected solely by the Troops, Militia, and Yeomen of Ireland, without any assistance whatsoever from England, and without the smallest interference of the Marquis Cornwallis, our present Lord Lieutenant : and a concise detail of the principal operations is given, to convince British Statesmen, that Irish Romanists are not so formidable as to entitle them to such consideration as they at present seem to attach to them ; and that Irish Protestants are not so weak, that it has become necessary for the British Government to enter into a treaty with Irish Romanists, and to sacrifice the British Constitution, as settled at the glorious Revolution, at the shrine of their ambition, for the preservation of the Protestants of Ireland ; as seems to be an opinion entertained (or rather pretended

pretended to be entertained) by some English Statesmen; if credit is to be given to the pamphlets published as the purport of several Speeches made in the British Parliament on the subject of the Union. This account of the suppression of the Rebellion also proves, that the idea of keeping up the present establishment in Ireland by force (if the Rebellions of Irish Romanists shall make force necessary) is not impracticable and absurd, as is dogmatically and insolently asserted by the Romish writer already so often mentioned. How short would be the existence, not only of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, but of the Irish Protestants themselves, were they reduced to rely on the justice and mercy of their Romish fellow-subjects!

The Marquis Cornwallis landed in Ireland, and was sworn into his office of Lord Lieutenant on the 20th of June 1798, subsequent to the signal defeats of the Rebels at Ross and Arklow, on the very day of their decisive discomfiture at Vinegar Hill, and after the total suppression of the insurrection in the North of Ireland. The first regiment of English Militia which arrived in Ireland, landed in Dublin on the 29th of June 1798; it was the Buckinghamshire regiment: it was followed on the 1st of July 1798 by the Warwickshire regiment: the arrivals of the other regiments of English Militia were all subsequent. They were not sent to suppress the Rebellion, but to assist his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland in repelling a French invasion, which was then expected, and was shortly afterwards unsuccessfully attempted by the enemy. Every loyal man in the kingdom welcomed these generous volunteers in the service of their King and Country, with joy and gratulation; but this their reception was not owing to any idea entertained in Ireland, that she lay under any particular

particular obligation to Great Britain for such assistance ; because it is as much the interest of Great Britain to assist Ireland in repelling the common enemy, as it would be the interest of Ireland to assist Great Britain on a similar emergency : they are both parts of one and the same empire, and their interests, in respect to defence against a common enemy, cannot be divided.

Observations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'Arguments for and against an Union considered.'

In this place it is proper to mention a pamphlet published in Ireland, entitled, '*Arguments for and against an Union considered,*' being the pamphlet which this Romish writer professes to answer, and which he calls Mr. C.'s pamphlet. It is generally supposed to have been written by a Gentleman high in the confidence of Government, and contains many strong arguments in favour of an Union ; yet there are some parts of it which merit reprehension ; and particularly those in which the author grounds his arguments for an Union, on the power of the Irish Romanists : he uses too frequently the argument of Intimidation to prevail on the Protestants of Ireland to resort to the asylum of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, for protection against the irresistible power of the Irish Romanists, as he represents it. The supposed author is an Englishman, and it has given me no small degree of uneasiness to observe, that a Gentleman of abilities, as he certainly is, has so often deserted the irrefragable arguments for the expediency, and even the necessity of an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, arising from considerations of the present state of Europe, and evident mutual advantage of both countries ; and resorted to arguments of terror, grounded on unsubstantial, fantastic, and fabulous representations ; as old women frighten froward children in a nursery to compliance, by stories

stories of fairies and hobgoblins. I am as sincerely and zealously attached to the measure of an Incorporating Union, as any Minister or individual in the British Empire, can be : but I disdain to support so great, so important, so necessary a measure, by such frivolous and puerile arguments : and when I find such resorted to by great Statesmen, I am induced to suspect, that some portentous innovation in the constitution of the British Empire is meditated, under the cloak of this salutary measure ; and that Britons are to be reconciled to an acquiescence in such innovation, by fraudulently persuading them, that the measure could not be effected, but through the medium of the innovation. *Aliquid monstri alant !*

This Gentleman in his pamphlet states, that Irish Romanists are to Irish Protestants in the proportion of three to one ; this proportion is very rashly adopted from the calculations of a seditious Romish assembly, which was collected some years ago in the city of Dublin, and which styled itself the Catholic Convention ; it prepared a Petition to His Majesty on behalf of the Irish Romanists, which was a collection of impudent falsehoods, misrepresentations, and groundless calumnies against their Protestant fellow-subjects. This statement I have already refuted. (See Appendix, No. 1.) He then states, that the Irish Protestants have been obliged to rely upon British assistance for the preservation of their property and existence at different periods. This is very true ; and the assistance has been furnished, because the Irish Protestants were attacked by the Irish Romanists, for their attachment to the constitution in Church and State, as established in England ; and their fidelity to the English Crown ; and because it was absolutely necessary for England to support

support them, or abandon Ireland, part of her dominions; and she might have as well abandoned Yorkshire: she assisted the Irish Protestants for her own emolument; they were fighting her battles: but the inference attempted to be drawn from it in the pamphlet is, that the Irish Protestants are not *now* able to preserve their property and existence from destruction by the Irish Romanists, without the assistance of Great Britain: this I trust is already satisfactorily proved not to be a fact. At the Revolution the Irish Romanists were completely conquered, their power reduced, and the Irish Protestant interest so firmly established, and placed on such solid foundations, that it has been ever since able to support itself against the assaults of the Romanists, without the assistance of Great Britain; and is now fully able so to do: all that Irish Protestants require from their brethren in England is, that they will not be cheated into a support of the Irish Romanists against them, and in fact against themselves, by the misrepresentations and pernicious doctrines of the disciples of Mr. Burke, the modern apostle of Popery: they deprecate the effects on the constitution of the spirit of Burkesism in England. Certain it is, that the Irish Protestants would not be able to support their properties and existence against the Irish Romanists assisted by a strong French fleet and army, without the assistance of Great Britain; but in such case they claim such assistance, not as a boon, but as a right; not on their own account alone, but on that of Great Britain also: Ireland is a part of the British Empire: as such she is engaged in the present war with France; and the loss of Ireland would be attended by a prodigious diminution of the strength, probably by the destruction of that Empire: it could not receive a greater injury, a more deadly wound, by the French occupation

occupation of part of the island of Great Britain, than by the French occupation of Ireland: and when the British Government, or those employed by them, argue on the presumed weakness of the Protestants of Ireland, they are in fact depreciating their own strength, inviting French invasion, and exciting Irish Romanists to Rebellion!

The most dangerous and reprehensible paragraph in the last-mentioned pamphlet is the following: ‘ Whilst Ireland remains a separate country from Great Britain, Great Britain is not pledged on any specific principle to support one *sect* in Ireland more than another: if she cannot preserve the connexion of the two kingdoms in their establishment, their power, and their property, I know not by what tie she is debarred from assisting the Catholics; for whilst the kingdoms are separate and independent, Ireland, *except where the Crown is concerned*, is merely bound by the ties of interest to England, and in a similar manner England is only bound by the ties of interest, *and the rights of the Crown*, to Ireland: she is pledged to preserve Ireland to the British Crown, but not to any particular means, or any particular principles for maintaining that connexion.’ Here then is a public declaration by a Gentleman, supposed to stand very high in the confidence of both the Irish and English Administrations, and who holds an employment of great trust under Government, that it is totally immaterial to the English nation, whether Protestantism or Popery be the established religion of Ireland. His Romish antagonist compares the Protestant religion to a Medusa’s head; he bestows the title of *Sect* upon it. But it is worth while a little to examine the premises, from which this extraordinary conclusion, that Great Britain is not

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bound to support the Protestant Religion, more than the Romish, in Ireland, is deduced : the one is, that the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is separate from, and independent of, the kingdom of Great Britain. This premis is false, for the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is inseparably annexed, united to, and dependant on the Imperial Crown of Great Britain : the supreme Executive Power in Great Britain and Ireland is vested in the same person ; but the supreme Executive Power in both kingdoms, is one of the three branches of the supreme Legislative Power in both ; so that the two kingdoms have even part of their Legislative Powers common to both. No Act of Parliament can pass in Ireland until after it has been sent into England, and has there obtained the approbation of the British Cabinet, and has the great seal of England affixed to it ; the Government of England, therefore, can, at its discretion, prevent the enactment of any law by the Legislature of Ireland : these are surely strong bands of dependance of Ireland on Great Britain ; and in fact, in the present situation of the two kingdoms, the connexion between them, and dependance of one on the other, are so strong, that the Anti-Unionists, as is already observed, found on it their most powerful argument against an Incorporating Union, alledging that the two kingdoms are now inseparably united, and that no further Union is necessary. His second premis is, that, in their present state, Great Britain cannot preserve the connexion of the two kingdoms in their establishment, their power, and their property : it is true this is introduced hypothetically, with an *if*, but the conclusion drawn from it is absolute, at least so far so, that without an Incorporating Union it is to be taken as absolute. But this premis is as false as the other ; for the Irish Protestants themselves,

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if Great Britain does not take a part against them, are able enough to preserve their establishment, their power and property, and their connexion with Great Britain, in defiance of the threats or rebellions of Irish Romanists; and no doubt can be entertained that Great Britain has power sufficient to do the same: so that the conclusion, that Great Britain is not bound to support the Irish Protestant more than the Irish Romanist, unlogically deduced from one false, and one hypothetic premis implying a falsity, falls to the ground. But the assertions, that Great Britain is not bound by any specific principle to support one more than the other; and that as she is only bound to secure Ireland to the British Crown, without being bound to any specific measures for so doing, she may effect this, by giving her support to the Romanists, and crushing the Protestants in Ireland; require some further animadversion.

King James the Second was driven from his Throne by the Revolution of 1688, for attempting to place Romanists, both in Great Britain and Ireland, on an equal footing in respect to all civil privileges, with his Protestant subjects; and his Romish issue, if any he had, together with all the next heirs of the Crown, being Romanists, on the demise of his Protestant issue without issue, were declared by Act of Parliament incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and the succession limited to his next Protestant relations, the issue of the Princess Sophia, grand-daughter of King James the First, as if the intermediate Romish heirs were dead: and his present Majesty, whom God long preserve, under that title, now sits on the Imperial Throne of the British Empire. Here then is a King dethroned, the hereditary succession interrupted, and turned

into the Protestant channel, merely for the purpose of securing a succession of Protestant Monarchs to Great Britain and Ireland: a fundamental principle of our constitution is varied by a condition, to wit, that the next heir shall succeed to the Throne only on the terms of his being a Protestant. Does not His Majesty hold his Crown by this Protestant title, and is he not bound to swear at his Coronation, that he will to the utmost of his power inviolably maintain the Protestant Religion as established in Ireland, as well as in Great Britain? Are not His Majesty and his successors bound so to swear, as well by the Act of the 1st of William and Mary, as by the Articles of the Union of England and Scotland, and the Act confirming them? Why was the Crown limited to the Protestant heirs only, and why was such variation made in our ancient law of Hereditary Succession? Was it not to prevent, as far as human wisdom could provide, all future attempts to give Popery an establishment, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Is not Great Britain bound by a specific principle to support the Protestant Religion, in opposition to Popery, within herself? And is she not bound by the same specific principle to the same conduct in Ireland to the utmost of her power? How then can this Gentleman support his position, that Great Britain is not bound by any specific principle to support the Protestant Religion, rather than Popery, in Ireland? It is an instance among many to be found in his pamphlet, how far men of good abilities may be led to advance the most unwarrantable positions, when they endeavour to deduce conclusions unsupported by the substantial pillars of Reason and Fact. Such is the nature of all his arguments of intimidation in favour of an Union.

I once heard it roundly asserted, that if the Houses of Lords and Commons should agree on a bill for subverting the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, His Majesty, notwithstanding his Coronation Oath, would be bound to give it the Royal assent, and thereby establish it as a law, because his Coronation Oath in all particulars is so to be construed, that it is not binding against the opinion of the two Houses. I never can agree with such reasoning—I cannot find any such saving in the Coronation Oath: it is an absolute Oath; and I never can allow that the two Houses of Parliament have any such power, as that of dispensing with the obligations of positive Oaths: I believe and hope, that the Parliament never will assume the power of absolving from the observance of Oaths: it would thereby assume the power arrogated by the Pope, which is so much and so justly reprobated by all good Christians. And as His Majesty is bound by his Coronation Oath inviolably to maintain the Protestant Religion as it is now established in Ireland, so is he bound to resist all concessions of privileges to any class of his subjects, which would impair or weaken that establishment; though perhaps they would not be at first attended, or immediately followed, by its total subversion.

This Gentleman has also stated very erroneously, as a known historical fact, that the Irish House of Commons was framed with the sole view of excluding Roman Catholics. The fact is quite otherwise: the assertion is a slander on the Irish House of Commons, invented by our modern Jacobin Reformers of Parliament; and is refuted by all history and records. (See Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, pages 11. 13. 18, 19.) I am sur-

prised that he could be hurried into such strange mistakes: I have heretofore fully refuted this assertion, in my ‘ Answer to Mr. Grattan’s Address,’ from undoubted authority of history and records; and any person who wishes to be informed on this head, may be satisfied by reading part of that answer, under the title of ‘ Remarks on Mr. Grattan’s Account of the Creation of Boroughs.’ Romanists were excluded from Parliament by tests imposed by Acts of Parliament: a demonstration, if History had been silent on the point, that the House of Commons was framed antecedent to the exclusion of Romanists: and these tests were imposed from necessity; the Romanists by rebellions and massacres, which had their origin in their religious principles, having proved the impracticability of communicating the supreme authority of the State with them. Romanists are excluded from seats in the Parliament of Great Britain by the imposition of the same test oaths. Will this Gentleman assert, that the British House of Commons was framed with the sole view of excluding Romanists? He has many other objectionable passages in his pamphlet, of which his antagonist, the writer of ‘ *The Case of Ireland Re-considered,*’ has not failed to take the advantage: I am very sorry that the merit of many excellent arguments in favour of an Union contained in it should be lessened by such crudities; particularly as I have a great respect and esteem for the supposed author of it: and I would not have taken any notice of his pamphlet, except to commend it, had not his antagonist availed himself of the mistakes and mistatements in it, and thereby put me to the necessity, in exposing his mischievous positions, of animadverting in some degree on this performance.

It is now time to refute the parts of the Romish author's pamphlet, in which he attempts, rather to insinuate than prove, that the late Rebellion in Ireland was not a Romish Rebellion. He knew if he ventured to make such an assertion directly, he laid himself open to direct refutation, and provoked it: he therefore chose rather to make use of a mode of desultory argument on this weak side of his defence of Irish Romanists, from the too well founded objections to their pretensions, arising from their open acts of hostility against their Protestant countrymen, by aiming detached strokes of accusation against some reputed Protestants, who were concerned in the Rebellion. This mode of defence of his party is contrary to the general tenour of his argument; which is, that the Irish Romanists are excluded from equal privileges with their fellow-subjects, that their number and property entitle them to these privileges, that the exclusion therefrom warrants their hostility to the State, and that their propensity to such hostility will continue as long as the exclusion, and will break out into open acts of violence on every proper opportunity, and that the late Rebellion was the consequence of such exclusion; thereby in fact admitting, that it was a Romish Rebellion. In page 22 he has the following paragraph: 'No doubt a connexion with France has lately been renewed, but those who took the lead in it were of all descriptions, but persons chiefly Presbyterians and Protestants; of five men who composed the (Irish) Directory, four were Protestants, although of any other five men in the country, four were Catholics.' In page 11 he thus writes: 'May not the present misfortunes of Ireland be rather ascribed to the efforts of a party (the Protestants) to force on us again our childish trammels which we had outgrown? This

Continuation of the
Scriptures
on 'The
Case of
Ireland
Re-considered.'

‘ accounts for the union of all descriptions of men in
 ‘ the late *opposition to Government.*’ It is worthy of
 notice, that he styles Rebellion, *Opposition to Govern-*
ment; so indeed it is with a vengeance! In page 47 is
 the following observation: ‘ It is difficult to compre-
 ‘ hend the wisdom of that system, which drove Protestant,
 ‘ Presbyterian, and Catholic, into a desperate union against
 ‘ it.’ There are many other strokes of the same nature
 dispersed through his pamphlet. To begin with the first
 assertion; that of the Irish Directory four were Protestants,
 and only one Romanist; the truth is, there was not
 of the five a Protestant: four of them were professed
 Deists or Atheists, disciples of Mr. Thomas Paine; and
 the fifth, M’Nevin, was a bigotted Romanist: he de-
 clared indeed, on his examination before the Committee
 of the House of Lords, that he and his party meant to
 subvert the present Protestant Church Establishment, and
 not to establish any religion in its room, but he well knew
 that the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Ire-
 land would of itself be the establishment of Popery.
 There was not one Protestant engaged in the Rebellion,
 except a few of the meanest of the Dissenting class, in a
 corner of the North of Ireland, unless the avowed dis-
 ciples of Mr. Paine are to be accounted Protestants. These
 Dissenters were seduced into it, by plausible pretences of
 Reform of Parliament and Abolition of Tithes: but the
 barbarous conduct of the Leinster Rebels, in massacring
 all Protestants they could lay their hands on in cold blood,
 soon convinced them of their error; and one of their
 leaders, an attorney by profession, being taken and
 hanged, at his execution declared that he and his
 party were then fully convinced, if they had succeeded,
 that they must have fought the battle over again; that
 is,

is, that they would have to fight their Romish confederates, who they perceived intended to destroy all Protestants. A great proportion of the Insurgents in the North were Romanists; for in both the counties of Down and Antrim, in which the Northern Insurrection happened, there are many Romish inhabitants. This Insurrection was very speedily quelled. The leaders of the Dissenters concerned in it were all notorious sectaries, —Arians, Socinians, or Deists; there was not one real Christian Dissenter engaged in it, except a very few of the meanest of the people, who were cheated into it in the manner I have already mentioned. All Protestant Dissenters of any account, who were real Christians, joined heart and hand with the Protestants of the Establishment throughout the nation, and fought courageously against the Insurgents.

The great strength of the Rebels lay in the province of Leinster, and they were to a man Romanists, except about six, who were professed Painites. Mr. Bagenal Harvey was one of these. A few days before the Rebellion broke out he had been arrested on a charge of Treason, by order of Government, and was confined in the gaol of Wexford. When the Rebels got possession of that town, soon after the commencement of the Insurrection, they liberated Mr. Harvey; and as he was a man of some estate and interest in the county, they chose him for a nominal leader only, and he marched with them to the attack of Ross. His command was merely nominal: he never had any effectual authority among them. As soon as they were defeated at Ross, they deposed him, and chose a Romish Farmer, one Roach, who had been the permanent Serjeant of a Yeomanry Corps,

Corps, and had deserted, one of their Generals ; together with a number of others, all Romanists, to wit, Sutton, Fitzgerald, Parry, Hay, Roach, and Murphy, the two last Romish Priests, and many other Priests. They first assembled in the county of Wexford, by parishes, at the respective Romish chapels, and were generally headed by their Priests. Mr. Harvey, when he saw them commence the massacre of the Protestants, which he was unable to prevent, spoke feelingly, to a friend he happened to fall in with, of his own situation : ‘ I see now ‘ my folly,’ said he, ‘ in embarking in this cause with ‘ these people : if they succeed, I shall be murdered by ‘ them ; if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.’

The aggregate body of the Leinster Rebels, all Romanists, assembled in the county of Wexford. Their defeats and dispersion I have already stated. Their barbarity was not exceeded by their inhuman forefathers in the massacre of the Protestants in the year 1641. The diocese of Ferns, in which this Rebellion broke out, was remarkable for a very pious, regular, and resident body of Protestant Clergy. The Bishop was almost always resident, and had not for many years absented himself from the diocese for a fortnight in each year, previous to 1798, though his residence was within fifty miles of the city of Dublin. He attended to his episcopal duty, in every branch of it, with the greatest zeal and activity. In this calamitous year of Rebellion, he had, contrary to his usual custom, resided in Dublin about two months, immediately previous to its breaking out ; and was at that time, very fortunately for himself and his family, absent from Ferns ; otherwise he would have certainly fallen a sacrifice to the bigotted fury of the Rebels. They were

were therefore obliged to content themselves with the plunder and dilapidation of his house, which had been but lately erected, and on which he and his predecessor had expended above ten thousand pounds. They burned his library, and destroyed his furniture. On the first burst of the Insurrection, the Rebels murdered, in the most barbarous manner, all the Protestant Clergymen they could lay their hands on. The Reverend Messrs. Turner, Burrowes, Throke, Pentland, and Heydon, fell sacrifices to their sanguinary bigotry. They in some days after took the Reverend Mr. Owen prisoner: they tortured him, and he was thereby for some time bereft of his reason. His life was spared by some accident, as was that of the Reverend Mr. Francis, who, notwithstanding, was so much reduced by famine (the Rebels having for many days allowed him no subsistence but some potatoes which had been cut into pieces for the purpose of planting), that he died shortly after he was delivered from them. They caused their Priests to baptize two or three other Protestant Clergymen who had fallen into their hands, and their lives were spared on their submitting to have such a ceremony performed upon them; the Rebels esteeming such submission an abjuration of their religion, and an adoption into the Romish Church. The Reverend Mr. Heydon, already mentioned, was a native of the county of Wexford, had spent almost his whole life there, was near eighty years of age, and was as charitable a man, and as much esteemed, as any in the county. The Rebels insisted that he should submit to be baptized, which he declining to do, they immediately pierced him with their pikes, and he fell dead in the presence of his wife: they stripped his body, and it lay exposed in the streets of Enniscorthy for nine days,

days, till it was almost devoured by the swine. Some of the Rebels, less ferocious than the others, buried the body privately at night in the church-yard: the next day others of them dug it up, and flung it into the street. Such was the fate of this ancient Clergyman, as respectable in his profession as any either in Great Britain or Ireland, who seemed to be beloved, and deserved to be so, by all his parishioners, whether Protestants or Romanists. Most of the other Protestant Clergymen in the diocese were lucky enough to escape from these barbarians, some of them in open boats, across the channel into Wales, carrying nothing with them but the clothes on their backs: they all lost their properties, which were seized on as plunder by the Rebels.

Previous to the battle of Rofs, the Rebels had collected all the Protestants, men, women, and children, they could lay their hands on, in their march from Wexford to the battle. These they left prisoners in the custody of one of their captains, a farmer, of the name of Murphy, at the house of Mr. King, a Protestant Gentleman (who luckily escaped from their fury), at a place called Scollobogue, some miles distant from Rofs. About sixty men were confined in the mansion-house, and the rest, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and eighty-five, in the adjacent barn. On the day of the battle of Rofs, the Rebels dispatched a messenger to Murphy, to desire him, in the name of their General, to put all the prisoners to death, as the King's troops were getting the better, and the prisoners would escape. Murphy at first hesitated, and desired a written order to warrant this barbarous execution; but a second message, to the same effect, was shortly after delivered to him

from Murphy, a Romish Priest, and one of the Rebel Commanders, with which latter order the Captain and his gang, consisting of about three hundred, determined to comply. The sixty men were first brought out of the mansion-house, man by man, and all shot, or murdered by the stabs of pikes, in the front of the house, except two, whom Murphy, for some reason or other, spared. The Rebels determined to make shorter work with the people in the barn, the majority of whom were women and children: they surrounded it, piled combustibles about it, and set it on fire. The enclosed victims endeavoured to force the doors: their barbarous executioners kept up an incessant fire of musketry upon them, and killed all who showed their heads. The doors were divided in the middle, so that the upper parts were open whilst the lower parts were closed. The Rebels threw numberless sheaves of straw, all in flames, into the barn at these apertures. One unhappy woman had a child in her arms, which she was suckling: finding death inevitable, she put the child out over the lower part of one of the doors, in hopes that some of these barbarians might have some sparks of humanity yet twinkling in their bosoms, and would save the life of the infant. She was disappointed: the child was immediately transfixed with a spear, and lifted up on the end of it, writhing with torture. This action was loudly applauded by the surrounding Rebels! Their shouts of triumphant exultation rent the air! The whole number enclosed in the barn were either shot dead at the doors, attempting to force their way out, or consumed within it.

In the town of Wexford, the Rebels had seized a number of Protestants, whom they confined in the gaol.

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Out of these they daily, during the continuance of the Rebellion, selected a few, and murdered them with great parade in the most public part of the town; generally marching them under strong guards through the streets to the end of the bridge, military music attending, and playing a dead march; charging them with no crime whatsoever, except that they were heretics irreclaimable. At the end of the bridge they were put on their knees, immediately pierced with pikes, and their bodies thrown into the river, which is there deep and broad. But on the day of the decisive battle of Vinegar Hill, distant only eleven miles from Wexford, the Rebels in the town determined to murder all their prisoners; and on that day they conducted eighty-six Protestants from the gaol to the bridge, marching them by sixteen or eighteen at a time, with music playing a dead march, and there murdered them all with their pikes. The Rebel who showed himself most active in this butchery was celebrated by the rest as a *Hero, who never winced at running a Heretic through the body*. Such were their expressions! The remaining prisoners, men, women, and children, were doomed to slaughter on the next day; but a party of the King's troops in the morning rushed suddenly into the town: the Rebels, fought their safety in flight, and the lives of upwards of three hundred Protestants were saved. All the facts I have above mentioned of the barbarities committed by the Rebels, are notorious, and have been proved on the oaths of the most respectable witnesses, on the trials of several Rebels, who have been convicted of having been concerned in these massacres. It is in vain for Romish writers to deny them: they dare not attempt it in Ireland, where all people are perfectly acquainted with the above circumstances. This Romish

writer has published his insidious pamphlet in England; it is calculated for that meridian; he hoped to impose on the credulity of strangers; and even there he had not assurance peremptorily to assert that it was not a Romish Rebellion,—he only strongly insinuates that it was not.

The Insurgents in the two counties of Antrim and Down were partly Protestant Dissenters of the lowest class, and partly Romanists. They were few in number, feeble in their operations, and were speedily dispersed. They committed no massacres, because the Romanists among them were obliged to conceal their sanguinary projects from the Protestant Dissenters associated with them, and whom they had drawn into the Rebellion by holding forth to them the scheme of a Democratic Republic, and the subversion of the Church Establishment. These Insurgents in the North, of different religious persuasions, had different views, which they studiously concealed from each other. The Dissenters among them thought they were making tools of the Romanists, to assist in the overthrow of the Establishment in Church and State, and the substitution of a Republic; believing that they would be able to secure the political power in such a State to themselves, and introduce that species of religious persuasion which, in the days of Cromwell, was distinguished by the name of *Independency*, throughout the nation: their principal leaders were disguised Atheists. The Romanists, on the other hand, thought, and with much more reason, that they were making tools of the Dissenters, by inducing them to assist in the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, and the substitution of a Democratic Republic; because they knew that such a project could not be carried into
execution

execution but by the extirpation of all the Irish Protestants of the Establishment, and a Separation from Great Britain, for ages the favourite pursuits of Irish Romanists; and they saw plainly enough that the whole political power of the nation must fall into their hands, in the event of the success of such projects; because the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland do not amount to one eighth part of the Romanists in number; and in a Democratic Republic, such a small section of the people, bereft of the support of the Protestants of the Establishment, and of Great Britain, could have very little political influence, if they were even suffered to remain in the country, which, from the religious tenets of the Romanists, is highly improbable. The Romanists know also, that the subversion of the Protestant Establishment would of itself be a substitution of a Romish, without further trouble; for, from the religious tenets of the Romish Faith, its votaries are bound to pay their tithes to their respective Parish Priests, without the sanction of any temporal law whatsoever; and hence it is, that all laws enforcing the payment of tithes to Protestant Clergymen by them are accounted impious, and the exaction of such payment a sacrilege; *which tenet of itself will for ever render them irreconcilable enemies to a Protestant Establishment.* Hence their Clergy, by the success of their designs, would be immediately put into possession of all the tithes of the nation. Add to this the immense sums which the Romish Clergy levy on their Laity from Confessions, from Indulgences, from the doctrine of Purgatory, from Dispensations, and other concomitants of their superstition, reprobated by the Protestant doctrines; and it will be easily seen, that it would not be necessary, on the subversion of the Protestant Church Establishment,

to secure, by temporal laws, any particular endowment for the support of the Romish Clergy; and that, even in their present condition, they levy a very ample subsistence on their people.

The horrible cruelties exercised by the great body of the Rebels in Leinster on the Protestants, soon alarmed the few Dissenters, confederates of the Romish Insurgents in the North. They immediately saw into the real design of their new allies; and withdrawing themselves from a conspiracy which, they clearly perceived, would in its success be attended with their own destruction, all projects of Rebellion vanished in the province of Ulster. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partisans: the flame, thus feeble, was easily quenched, never to be re-kindled; and the people have returned to their accustomed industrious pursuits. The great strength of the Rebellion lay in the province of Leinster. The whole mass of the Romish inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, rose at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the same religious persuasion, joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men. Confiding in this strength, they did not think it necessary to conceal their designs of extirpating the Protestants: the excision of all Heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention; and evinced, by their actions, the sincerity of this declaration.

So early as the year 1792, the Irish Romanists had projected this Rebellion, and commenced their operations preparative of it. In that year, a Secret Committee of
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 them,

them, which had before for some years privately assembled in Dublin, determined to take decisive steps towards combining their whole collected power throughout the nation, and making one united effort to separate the nation from Great Britain, subvert the Monarchy, and establish a Romish Democratic Republic in Ireland, under the protection of France, which encouraged them to the attempt, and whose anarchical schemes they resolved to adopt. The success of the French Revolutionists inspired them with hopes of similar success; and some popular characters in England and Ireland appeared publicly as their abettors, particularly Mr. *Edmund Burke*, who dispatched his son to Ireland to act as their agent, in which capacity he exerted himself with great zeal and activity. They were thus emboldened to adopt very daring and open measures for carrying their project into execution. With this view a Romish merchant in Dublin, one of this private Society, issued a kind of writs for the election of a general Representative Assembly of the Irish Romanists, to meet at a certain day in the city of Dublin, there to deliberate on the interests of that body, and to concert proper methods for what was styled the Emancipation of the Romanists. These writs were directed to the Romish Parish Priests throughout the kingdom, who were to superintend the execution of them. They were executed in the following manner: The Romish inhabitants of each parish were summoned by the Priest to meet at the Romish chapel; and there two deputies were elected by the majority of the votes of the adults of the whole congregation without distinction. These deputies met the deputies of all the parishes of a barony or hundred, at an appointed time and place, and elected, by plurality of votes, two deputies for the barony from
among

among themselves. These two baronial deputies met, at a certain time and place, the other baronial deputies, and elected two deputies from among themselves, as representatives of the county. The same mode of election of representatives was pursued in cities and towns corporate. These representatives met at the Taylors' Hall, in the city of Dublin, appointed proper officers, and continued sitting for many weeks, with the doors of the hall carefully closed and guarded, within a furlong of the Castle of Dublin, the residence of the Viceroy. Their assembling was open and notorious: their deliberations were kept profoundly secret. The Magistracy of the city of Dublin would have immediately dispersed this unlawful assembly, which, in imitation of the French, assumed the title of *the Catholic Convention*; but the Government declined to warrant or countenance such exertion of the Police. This Convention composed a paper, which they styled the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to His Majesty, which is one entire system of the most audacious and groundless falsehoods and misrepresentations that was ever framed: it is a virulent and malicious invective and libel on the Protestants of Ireland and the established Government, and a forgery of grievances of Irish Romanists which never existed. They at length closed their session, first electing nine of their members to compose a permanent Council of Irish Traitors. This they styled the Permanent Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Of these M'Nevin, their Ambassador to the French Directory, was the chief. They levied great sums of money by a regular assessment, which they imposed on the Irish Romanists, and to which they universally submitted. They sent a deputation to Belfast, to seduce the

Protestant Dissenters there to enter into a confederacy with them, for the annihilation of the Constitution, under pretence of a co-operation for a Reform of the Representation in Parliament; and to the operations of that Deputation is the late feeble Northern Insurrection, which I have mentioned, to be ascribed. They appointed deputies to present the flagitious libel, which they styled a Petition to His Majesty; and so great was the influence of Mr. Burke in England at that time, that he procured the introduction of these Deputies to His Majesty, by one of the Secretaries of State; and they presented their Petition. To the same influence is justly to be attributed the passive conduct of the Irish Government, in respect to that unlawful assembly. The whole mass of the Irish Romanists submitted to the authority of this Committee of Nine. They were selected out of the Representatives chosen by them all in the manner I have mentioned, and appointed by the votes of that whole body to conduct the projects and schemes of the Irish Romanists; they are therefore to be considered as their existing Representatives, and they have acted as such ever since, till the breaking out of the Rebellion. One of them, M'Nevin, was the most active diplomatic member of the Irish Directory.

In the year 1795, when Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Committee of Nine determined that the whole mass of Irish Romanists should present a Petition to Parliament, praying, or rather demanding, what they styled Emancipation; that is, the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State. They published a precedent of such a Petition in the public Newspapers, and sent out their
mandate

mandate to all of their persuasion in every part of Ireland, commanding them to send up Petitions, drawn after that model, to be presented to Parliament, signed by them in every district. This mandate was immediately complied with by the whole body. The assessments of the Convention have been always regularly paid to the Treasurer, one of the Nine; and the Romish body throughout Ireland regularly corresponded with their Secretary M'Cormick, till he fled out of the kingdom, to escape punishment for his treason, some time after the commencement of the Rebellion. The Committee of Nine called a general meeting of the Irish Romanists on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. They met at a Romish chapel in Dublin. Several seditious speeches were spoken at this assembly by M'Nevin, Keough, and Ryan, three members of the Committee of Nine; and by Lewins, their present Ambassador at Paris; and very seditious resolutions were entered into by them, and the whole assembly. All these Speeches and Resolutions the Committee published in several Newspapers both in Great Britain and Ireland. In one of the Resolutions agreed to by the whole body, they voted their most grateful thanks for his services, and fifteen hundred pounds for his trouble, to Theobald Wolfe Tone, as one of their agents. He was at this time a traitor, in correspondence with the French Convention, and employed by them to raise a Rebellion in Ireland. He was since taken by Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron, coming to invade Ireland with a French army, and having a French commission in his pocket. He was convicted of high treason, and ordered for execution; but on the morning of the day appointed for his execution he cut his own throat. His brother, Matthew Tone, was

hanged and quartered for the same crime. *In another Resolution, the Committee of Nine and their Assembly pledged themselves, collectively and individually, to resist even their Emancipation, if proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an Union with Great Britain.*

Of this Committee of Nine, M'Nevin and Sweetman are now confined, as professed traitors, at Fort George in Scotland; Ryan is dead; Keough and M'Cormick have found it prudent to withdraw out of the kingdom; another was long confined on suspicion of treason, but has been lately liberated by the clemency of the Marquis Cornwallis. It is however generally believed that their places have been duly filled up, and that a Committee of Nine, as the Representative of the whole mass of Irish Romanists, still subsists, maintains its authority over that body, and continues its operations,

From the detail of the Rise and Progress of the late Rebellion, here faithfully given, it must be clear to every dispassionate person, that it was a Romish Rebellion, and that it was hatched by the Romish Convention. But it may not be amiss here to insert some quotations from the Reports of the Secret Committees of the British and Irish Houses of Lords respecting it. In the 'Report of the Committee of the Irish House of Lords' (page 2) is the following paragraph: 'During that period' (1792 and 1793) 'very considerable sums of money were levied upon the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, under the authority of a *Committee* of persons of that persuasion, who then assumed, and seemed in a great degree to succeed in the government and direction of
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‘ the whole body of Irish Catholics.’ Ibidem, page 4.
 ‘ We have taken up the detail of it from that period’
 (1795 and 1796), ‘ when the conspiracy was *so matured*
 ‘ as to have for its avowed object the array and levy of
 ‘ a regular military force in every part of the kingdom,
 ‘ for the purpose of assisting the French, if they should
 ‘ be enabled to make a descent upon this country ; or, if
 ‘ foreign assistance could not be procured, of making a
 ‘ general insurrection, in the hope of subverting the
 ‘ Monarchy and Ecclesiastical Establishment, of seizing
 ‘ the persons and confiscating the property of His Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s loyal subjects, and of establishing a Republi-
 ‘ can Government guaranteed by the power of France.’
 And ibidem, pages 10, 11, 12, may be seen an account
 of the negotiations of M^cNevin, one of the Committee
 of Nine, with the French Directory, to which I refer
 the reader.

In the ‘ Report of the Secret Committee of the House
 ‘ of Commons of Great Britain,’ sect. 2, page 10, is the
 following passage: ‘ The conspirators in Ireland, unques-
 ‘ tionably, always meditated the complete separation of
 ‘ that country from Great Britain.’ The Report then
 adverts to *the Society of United Irishmen*, which it states to
 have been instituted in the year 1791. And here it is
 proper to state, that the Romish Convention already
 mentioned was assembled in the year 1792, and that
 almost the whole of its members, if not the whole, were
United Irishmen: that all the principal Romish leaders in
 the late Rebellion were members of this Convention ;
 and all of them, together with the whole mass of the
 Insurgents, *United Irishmen*. In the Report last men-
 tioned, sect. 7, page 31, adverting to the mutiny in the

British fleet, is the following passage : ‘ It appears that
 ‘ oaths have been tendered by the Mutineers to the crew
 ‘ to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ire-
 ‘ land, and have nothing to do with the King or his
 ‘ Government : that they have acted in the professed
 ‘ expectation of assistance from France, with the express
 ‘ view of co-operating for the expulsion of the Protest-
 ‘ ants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Ca-
 ‘ tholic Government. On another occasion the Oath has
 ‘ been as follows : “ I swear to be true to the free and
 ‘ united Irish, who are now fighting our cause against
 ‘ Tyrants and Oppressors, and to defend their rights to
 ‘ the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret : and
 ‘ I do agree to carry the ship into Brest, the next time
 ‘ the ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every offi-
 ‘ cer and man that shall hinder us, except the Master ;
 ‘ and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, *and after-*
 ‘ *wards to kill and destroy the Protestants.*” Ibid. page 32.
 ‘ Your Committee have no hesitation in stating on the
 ‘ clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circum-
 ‘ stances, that among the various bodies enlisted in any part
 ‘ of Great Britain for the purposes of sedition and trea-
 ‘ son, the societies which have been formed by the
 ‘ United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the
 ‘ most formidable, particularly at the present moment ;
 ‘ whether considered with a view to their combination,
 ‘ their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the
 ‘ designs, of which they are preparing, in a very short
 ‘ time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation
 ‘ with France. The danger to be apprehended from
 ‘ these Societies is much increased, from the constant
 ‘ communication which they maintain with the Societies
 ‘ in Ireland, their mutual confidence in each other, and

‘ the alarming circumstance of their being *at this moment* subject to the same secret direction, and the same chiefs.’

This ‘ Report of the British House of Commons’ was ordered to be printed so late as the 15th of March 1799. And it is here worthy to be noted, that Mr. Tone, already mentioned, who is acknowledged to have been Agent of the Romish Convention in the year 1792, by their Permanent Committee, was the founder of the Society of United Irishmen in the year 1791; and it is pretty evident that the Romish Convention was only an assembly of the most considerable amongst the personages which composed the Society of United Irishmen;—a species of florilegium of that holy brotherhood!

It is now time to inquire what it is which induces Irish Romanists to act so ferociously, and to thirst so insatiably for the blood of their Protestant fellow-subjects; a thirst at this moment as unquenchable as in the year 1641, the era of the horrible Irish massacre! It cannot arise from the hatred of the native Irish to the British Colony, contracted from the tyranny of the Colony exercised over the natives, as is with equal effrontery and falsehood asserted by the author of the pamphlet entitled, ‘ *Considerations on the State of public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland;*’ for at present, and for many years back, the native Irish, and the British, who from time to time migrated into Ireland and settled there, are so intermixed that no such distinction as Native and Colonist can properly be said now to remain in the kingdom; save that in some mountainous parts of the province of Connaught, and in the mountains in the south of the counties

counties of Cork and Kerry, such fusion has not taken place in any considerable degree; and in those parts there was no Rebellion. In the counties in which the Rebellion raged, to wit, those of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Dublin, the majority of the peasantry, if their original race is to be discovered by their names, is British. There are two baronies in the county of Wexford, *viz.* those of Forth and Bargy, entirely peopled by the descendants of old English settlers, who yet retain the old English language, as it was spoken in England in the time of Chaucer, and which is almost unintelligible to a modern Englishman. They are for the most part Romanists at this day, and were very active Rebels. The English who settled in other parts of Ireland, previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are so completely incorporated with the original natives, that they cannot now be distinguished from them by their language, customs, or manners; the surnames of the respective families of them alone mark their origin. They may be reputed natives; and there are few who retain Irish surnames through the nation, who have not British blood in their veins. The Romish inhabitants of Ireland called by British surnames, and generally reputed of British extraction, are the most powerful portion of Irish Romanists in point of property. In the late Rebellion, almost all the leaders of the Rebels had English surnames, and the mass of the Insurgents was of the same description; the Rebellion having raged in the parts of Ireland directly opposite to Britain, and chiefly in that part formerly called the Pale, the principal seat of the ancient English Colony. Of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, a large portion has Irish surnames, and may be therefore reputed of native
Irish

Irish extraction. In a word, the only real and specific distinction of the inhabitants of Ireland in the present time is, that of Protestants and Romanists. The sanguinary hostility of the Irish Romanists, against the Irish Protestants cannot therefore be attributed to a national antipathy subsisting between Natives and Colonists; and there is as little ground for ascribing it to any peculiar propensity of the people of Ireland to cruelty, greater than that of other nations. Oppression they cannot reasonably complain of; for the Irish Romanists enjoy a greater portion of civil liberty, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign nation on the face of the earth. There is therefore no other reasonable mode of accounting for it, but by an examination of the doctrines of their Religion: and whoever will attentively consider the precepts of the Council of Lateran before quoted, respecting Heresy, which they hold as a part of their creed, will there find the true sources of all those barbarities, and massacres of their fellow-subjects, which they have been guilty of. The legal punishment of Heresy in the British dominions, during the domination of Popery, was burning alive: hence the burning alive of the unfortunate Protestants in the barn at Scollobogue, and the persecution of them with fire and sword in the late Rebellion. The Irish Romanists committed nothing which they were not warranted, nay commanded, to commit, by the Council of Lateran; and it is remarkable, that at the times of their perpetrating the most atrocious cruelties, they always branded their victims with the opprobrious title of Heretics.

The Romanists in Ireland, whether aboriginal, or of old English extraction, have always endeavoured to shake

shake off what they call the English yoke, that is, to separate themselves from England ; and this political principle has contributed more than any other circumstance to keep them steady to the Romish persuasion, as being hostile to the Protestant faith, the Religion of Britain : their leaders justly enough considering that hostility of Religions is a powerful cement of adverse political parties, and a strong barrier against all treaty ; and that Separation from Britain will be always the favourite pursuit of men who firmly believe that Britons are an accursed race, reprobated by Heaven, the objects of Divine vengeance, to be inflicted on them on earth by the swords of the faithful ; they therefore support and propagate the Romish Faith, as they have always done, with all their power and influence. And to this political principle of Separation from Britain, as a first cause, may be traced the persevering attachment of such a number of the inhabitants of Ireland to the Romish Faith : and of that attachment their cruelty to their Protestant countrymen is the immediate effect.

I shall now take some notice of the strictures thrown out, by the Author of '*The Case of Ireland Re-considered,*' on the Popery Code some time since repealed in Ireland. The Author has summed up all the old common-place objections to that Code, advanced by the whole swarm of Romish scribblers, with all their exaggerations, since the enaction of it. His objections I have already mentioned ; they are principally contained in pages 4 and 34 of his pamphlet. Notwithstanding this Code has been for some years repealed, particularly all such parts of it as he complains of, he again blazons forth its severity, for the purpose of giving a new edge to the weapons

weapons of his Romish countrymen (which he apprehends may have been somewhat blunted in the recent Rebellion and Massacre), and of misleading the English nation into an unfounded opinion, that the Irish Romanists have been cruelly oppressed; and that their recent Rebellion has been the effect of that oppression, not resorted to for remedy (the Code having been repealed before the Rebellion), but for revenge. It is necessary to make a few remarks on his strictures, to show how absurd they are, and what little ground there is for them: so very little indeed, that there is sufficient reason to believe the writer to have been wholly unacquainted with the laws themselves, and that he merely copied the observations he makes upon them from others. His ignorance of the laws of his country is manifest from more than one passage in his pamphlet. I shall give one remarkable instance here of his want of knowledge of the laws. In page 41, observing on what he calls the Test Oaths, meaning the Oaths administered to every Member of Parliament when he takes his seat in the House, he has the following passage: ‘ Among these Oaths I suppose is included that of Abjuration, which is as violent an insult to the religion of our allies, the first nations on the Continent of Europe, as the abominable Oath of Hatred to Royalty set up as a test in France, is to their form of government.’ The Oath of Supremacy I have already mentioned: the Oath, styled in our Statutes the Oath of Abjuration, is simply an oath, first, of Allegiance to His Majesty; next, of support of the Settlement of the Crown, as limited by an Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and next an Oath
 abjuring

abjuring all allegiance to the descendants of the late King James the Second. This Oath, together with the Oaths of Supremacy, and a general Oath of Allegiance, are all the oaths enjoined to be taken by Members of Parliament. How contemptible then is the ignorance of this Author, who states, that this Oath of Abjuration is a violent insult to the religion of our allies, the first nations in Europe !

The Irish Popery Code, which this Author complains of, was enacted after the accession of King William and Queen Mary : not all at once, but from time to time, as seemed expedient, in several successive Sessions of the Irish Parliaments, from the 4th of William and Mary to the 8th of Anne inclusive, but chiefly in the 2d and 8th of Anne. By this Code Romanists were prohibited to teach school, and to take leases of lands for a longer term than thirty-one years, or to acquire by purchase any more durable interest in lands. It provided, that if the eldest son of a Romanist, having an estate in fee, conformed to the Protestant Religion, his father, from the time of his conformity, became tenant for life of his estate, the fee vested in the conforming son, subject to the debts and incumbrances, and the Lord Chancellor was empowered to charge the estate with fortunes for the younger children, not exceeding in the whole one third of the full value of it. When a Romanist died seised of an estate in fee, if his eldest son did not conform to the Protestant Religion within a year and a day after his father's death (if he was then of full age, or, if then a minor, within a year and a day after he had attained his full age), the estate gavelled between him and his brothers. No Romanist could enjoy an office

fice in the State, a commission in the Army, or a seat in Parliament, without taking the Test Oaths. These are the parts of the Popery Code, whose dire effects on the Irish Romanists this Author so pathetically laments, and magnifies with such monstrous exaggeration. It is necessary here to remark, that these laws were all enacted from absolute necessity: that the reiterated rebellions, treasons, and massacres of the Irish Romanists were the causes of their enactment: that they were enacted after the Irish Romanists had been completely subdued in a desperate war, waged by them against their Protestant countrymen and the English nation, and undertaken by them, under the pretence of supporting the title of an abdicated Monarch to the Crown; but really for the purpose of separating Ireland from Great Britain, and allying it with France: that in this war the nation was desolated from one extremity to the other, as it had been frequently before in similar precedent rebellions: that it became evidently detrimental to the State, to permit Irish Romanists to acquire landed estates, giving them an interest in the country, which their avowed principles inevitably led them to use for the subversion of the State: that the incurable disposition of the Irish Romanists to rebellion and massacre was not the effect, but the cause, of the Popery Code; for that disposition led them to the most flagrant, cruel, and reiterated acts of rebellion and massacre, before the enactment of that Code; and all other ways of preventing the repetition of such horrible crimes had been found ineffectual: that this Author is guilty of the basest deception, in stating the Popery Code to be the cause of Rebellions, when it was only the effect: that the parts of that Code, of which he complains, as provocations of Irish Romanists

to Rebellion, were repealed, before the last Irish rebellion and massacre; and consequently could not be the cause of them: and it is no unfair deduction, that the re-enacttion of a Code, which, while it continued to be a part of the law of the land, prevented Rebellion, may become necessary for the protection of the country from similar future calamities.

This Author states, that, by the repealed Popery Code, *Romanists were excluded from Protestant Schools*. This is a direct falsehood: Romanists, so far from being excluded from Protestant schools, were invited to them; every Protestant school in the kingdom was always open to them; they might have freely resorted thither for instruction in all kinds of learning, without any interference of the schoolmasters with their religious opinions. Schools were established by Government, above half a century ago, for the education of the children of the poorer class of Irish Romanists, who had the privilege of sending their children to these schools, if they thought fit, to be educated and maintained *gratis*: these schools are called *Charter Schools*, and the scholars are educated in the Protestant Religion, as it is but reasonable that children educated at the expense of the State, should be instructed in the Religion of the State. But all other schools were as open to Romanists as to Protestants, without any reference to, or interference with, the religious opinions of Romanists. The State has lately, but before this Author published his pamphlet, thought fit to erect a most magnificent College, at an amazing expense, near Dublin, for the exclusive education of Romish Priests, whether wisely or not, I will not presume

sume to determine. I shall have occasion hereafter more fully to notice this foundation.

Romish students could not obtain degrees in the University of Dublin without taking the Oaths of Abjuration and Supremacy, previous to the repeal of the Popery Code: but by the act of the Irish Parliament in 1793 in favour of Romanists, they are rendered capable of taking degrees in that Univerfity.

Romish schoolmasters were by the Popery Code prohibited to teach. No prohibition, at the time it was enacted, could be more reasonable: they inculcated the rudiments of sedition and treason with the utmost care in their scholars; and when proper schools were open for the instruction of Romanists, it was a wise and just provision of the State to prevent their resort to places where they were early initiated in all the principles of disaffection to the Government. It appeared in the last Rebellion, that the Romish schoolmasters were the most zealous, active, and busy propagators of all the doctrines of treason in the country. The propriety of the education of Irish Romanists in France and Spain, after their various rebellions in confederacy with these powers, needs no argument to support it.

This Author's next complaint against the Popery Code is, 'that it cramped the industry of the people, and
' armed the brother against the brother, and rewarded
' the son for betraying the father, rendered property in-
' secure, prevented the cultivation of land, the interior
' confidence of families, and the extension of trade.'

Romanists by that Code were forbidden to take a lease of land for a longer term than thirty-one years. Against that clause it is to be supposed that the accusation of cramping the industry of the people is levelled. It is admitted that a larger proportion of Romanists is to be found among the Irish peasantry, than among the other classes of inhabitants; and it is to be noted that this author, by the word People, means Romanists exclusively; for throughout his pamphlet, like other writers of his kidney, he insinuates that the Irish Protestants are so insignificant in number, that they are not worthy of being noticed as a part of the people. It is difficult to prove, though easy to assert, that a class of the farmers of a nation, the cultivators of the soil, are cramped in their industry, and their cultivation obstructed, by their disability to acquire more durable interests in their farms, than leases for thirty-one years give them; and that such disability in one class of farmers cramps the industry of the whole body. The farmers in many parts of England, the most skilful in their profession of any in the world, the most industrious and thriving, have no leases of their farms, but are yearly tenants: in most parts of England long leases of farms are unusual, in some parts unknown: a seven years lease of a farm is considered a sufficient tenure, yet the farmers are remarkable for their excellent cultivation of the land, and the most active industry. It is therefore proved by experience, that disability in farmers to acquire long tenures of their farms is no impediment to national industry. The law in particular complained of, never operated against the industry of the Romish farmers, but it operated against the acquisition of permanent landed estates by such Irish Romanists as had acquired large personal property, because all laws
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against such acquisition may be easily evaded by long leases. Such was the intention of the Legislature, and it acted wisely, and for the benefit and security of the State (as is already shown), in enacting the clause complained of: Romanists were not restrained from exerting their industry, and acquiring large personal estates; but they were prohibited to expend their money in the purchase of lands, because the safety of the State required such prohibition: and industry may be, and is exerted as strenuously in the acquisition of personal, as of real property; of which the British nation is a shining example. The sophistry of the assertion, that the industry of a whole nation was cramped, because a prohibition of the acquisition of permanent landed estates by a part, and that the poorest part of it, existed, even admitting a cramping quality in the prohibition, is too glaring and contemptible to require further notice.

The next accusation of this Author against the Popery Code is, *that it rewarded the son for betraying the father, and armed the brother against the brother.* The part of the Code against which this accusation is levelled, is that which enacts, that the conformity to the Protestant Religion of the eldest son of a Romanist, seized in fee of a landed estate, shall render his father tenant for life, and vest the remainder in fee in the son, subject however to the payment of real incumbrances, the just debts of the father, and of reasonable portions to the younger children, at the discretion of the Chancellor: and the father was compellable to make some reasonable allowance for the support of the conforming child. And also that part of the Code which enacted, that the landed estate of a Romanist should be gavelable among all his
 K 2 son,

sons, in case the eldest did not conform to the Protestant Religion within a year and a day after the death of his father, if then of the age of twenty-one years; or if not, within a year and a day after he had attained that age.

As to the first clause, it is conformable to the rules of justice, of right reason, and of nature. The father is bound by the law of nature to support and provide for his children, and by the common law of the land, the eldest son is entitled to succeed his father in his landed estate, in case the father makes no disposition of it in his lifetime, by conveyance or will. It is notorious that every Romish father would, on the conformity of his eldest son to the Protestant Religion (which he would consider as apostacy), not only withdraw all support from him during his own life, but disinherit him: the fear of which would be an effectual bar to his conformity, be he ever so well inclined to it. This Code, therefore, in case of the son's conformity, required the father to do no more than what the law of nature and the common law of the land required him to do; and restrained him only from transgressing both, from the impulse of a blind bigotry. The payment of his just debts, and the provision of his other children, were secured, with the enjoyment of his estate during his life. How unjust then is the censure of this author on this clause of the Popery Code, that it rewarded the son for betraying the father!

In respect to the gaveling clause, on the non-conformity of the eldest son, it is to be observed, that the division of the landed estates of a deceased father among his sons in equal portions, is so far from being counted a

5

hardship

hardship in many nations of Europe, that it is the law in many of them at this day. It is now the common law of the county of Kent: it was the law of our Saxon ancestors. The laws of male Primogeniture, as they are at this day, in respect to the descent of real estates, were introduced by the feudal system imported with William the Conqueror. The men of Kent insisted on retention of their old gavel law, and he conceded it to them. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii. page 84. vol. iv. page 406, octavo edition.) The law of descent of landed estates to the eldest, in exclusion of the other children, does not take place in respect to daughters; such estates descend to daughters in gavelkind. Many writers on civil polity, of great eminence, maintain the opinion, that the law of Gavelkind is more advantageous to the State, than that of Primogeniture: and it is agreed by all, that the accumulation of great landed estates in one family, to be inherited by one person, an effect of the law of Primogeniture, is dangerous in a State, whether monarchical, republican, or mixt. It became necessary, for the reason I have already mentioned, to diminish the interest of Irish Romanists, derived from their enjoyment of large landed estates; and this law was designed to effect that purpose, with the least possible disadvantage to individuals, and without having recourse to any measure, which could be deemed by reasonable men either harsh or unjust; it was wisely calculated to answer all these ends. If therefore it has the effect of arming brother against brother among Irish Romanists, it must be admitted that they are very prone to family hostility; and to such propensity, and not to the law, is such hostility to be attributed: for the law is in itself fair and equal, and its justice vouched for

by the usage of several European nations, and a part of our own.

The next complaint of this Author against the Popery Code is, *that it rendered property insecure*. What part of it is alluded to, as rendering property insecure, it is hard to guess: perhaps it is that part of the Code, which enacts, that if a Romanist shall acquire by purchase an estate in lands, contrary to its prohibitions, such estate shall become forfeitable to the first Protestant, who shall discover it, and file a bill for the recovery of it. Laws which, by the wisdom of their provisions, tend to ensure the execution of them, are justly esteemed the most effectual, for the correction of those evils which they are enacted to repress: of such nature was this clause of the Popery Code. The State, for the reasons already mentioned, deemed it expedient to prohibit the acquisition of landed estates by Romanists; if therefore Romanists attempted to elude or defeat the effect of these laws, and expended their money in the purchase of landed estates, knowing the prohibition and the penalty, they had no ground to complain that their property was insecure, because such estates became forfeited to the first Protestant discoverer: the forfeiture was the consequence of their own transgressions of the law, and their attempts to evade it: the landed estates so purchased by them never were their lawful property; and if they risked their property on such unlawful speculations, they themselves, and not the law, were the cause of its insecurity.

This Author next states, *that the Popery Code prevented the extension of trade, and employment of the talents and genius of three fourths of the people in civil and military affairs*. This

Code must have rather tended to extend trade, than to confine it: because it prevented whatever Romish capital there was in the kingdom from being diverted to the purchase of lands, and being thereby withdrawn from trade. And as to the talents and genius of two thirds, and not of three fourths of the people of Ireland (the most indigent and uninformed class of society), being excluded from all interference with the civil or military concerns of the British Empire,—the brave, enlightened Protestant subjects of that empire, out-numbering them in the proportion of six to one, wanted no assistance from them. These two thirds of the Irish population, and their ancestors, had for ages exerted their talents, civil and military, such as they were, for the subversion of the Protestant establishment in Church and State; and it was found policy to reject all hollow alliance of talent of such Subjects, for the conduct of the national energies either in peace or war. The British Empire was, and is supported, *non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis!*

All this Author's complaints against the Irish Popery Code, and his monstrous exaggerations and falsehoods respecting its provisions and effects, have been now fully canvassed and exposed. And as this Code, in all the parts complained of, and acrimoniously misrepresented by him, with the view of inflaming the Irish Romanists to another Rebellion, is now repealed, his performance would not have been so much noticed, had not several pamphlets published in England as the substance of Speeches respecting the Union, spoken in the British Houses of Lords and Commons, by the most powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England, contained passages expressive of the opinions of the speakers, that Irish

Romanists have been cruelly oppressed by their Protestant fellow-subjects, without any just reason to warrant such supposed oppressions : and that the numbers and strength of Irish Romanists were so great, when compared with those of Irish Protestants, that it is necessary to purchase their consent to an Union, at the price of the sacrifice of the Protestant establishment in Ireland. As I have taken up my pen, chiefly for the purpose of disabusing such Noblemen and Gentlemen, and giving them true information of the real state of Ireland, with which some of them of the greatest rank seem not only unacquainted, but, what is worse, seem to have very false impressions made upon them to the disadvantage of the Irish Protestants, I thought I could not omit refuting the shameless slanders of this writer, on the laws and government of Ireland for this century past. Such refutation is also conformable to my general plan, which is to expose, confute, and overthrow the system of Burkism respecting Ireland ; which, as these Speeches too evidently prove, has made no inconsiderable progress among the Ministers of the British Empire ; and which has its foundation deeply laid in bigotry, misrepresentation, falsehood, and deceit : to the operations of which system in Ireland, directed by the Ministers sent thither from England, from time to time, for these twenty years past, are justly to be attributed the calamities which have so lately afflicted it ; and the dissent of a considerable body of Irish Protestants, from an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, from a suspicion (ill-founded, as I hope and believe, yet not altogether groundless), that some dangerous invasion of the Constitution of the Empire is, at least, meditated, under the shadow and protection of that most salutary measure.

I shall

I shall take my leave of this Author, by a short comment on the following paragraph contained in page 16 of his pamphlet : ‘ In Ireland, the Religion of the *people* is not permitted to be the Religion of the country : it is *scarcely tolerated* : the Religion of a *small minority* (a political phenomenon) is the established Religion of the State.’ This Author has a rare talent at condensing a variety of falsehoods into one short passage. *Popery enjoys the most complete toleration.* The Religion of one third of the inhabitants of Ireland in number, of forty to one in property, is the established Religion of the State, in Ireland ; it is also the Religion of six to one in number, and of one hundred to one in property, of the population of the British Empire in Europe, of which Ireland is a limb : *it is therefore the Religion of an infinite majority of the inhabitants of the Empire reckoned both by numbers and property.* I have quoted this last passage, just to show the audacity of the writer, and the ease and confidence with which he advances the most impudent falsehoods, and supports them with the most pitiful sophistry.

It has been alledged, that Ireland has manifestly improved in trade and cultivation since the repeal of the Popery Code, and that such improvement is the effect of that repeal. The improvement of Ireland from the year 1780 to the breaking out of the late Rebellion is admitted ; but it is not to be attributed to the repeal of the Popery Code, but to the free trade about that time conceded to Ireland by Great Britain, and the abolition of those commercial regulations, with which she had before that period shackled Ireland ; and part of the improvement is to be laid to the account of the ruin of the trade of France and Holland, and

and the rapid increase of that of the British Empire in general, within that period.

Strictures
on a pam-
phlet enti-
tled, 'Con-
siderations
on the State
of Public
Affairs in
the Year
1799. Ire-
land.'

I fear I have wasted too much paper and ink in exposing this Writer, his falsehoods, misrepresentations, ignorance, and sophistry; but I have already given my reason for so doing, and the same reason is my excuse to the public for taking notice of the pamphlet entitled, '*Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland.*' After reading this publication, it appeared to me so very false, abusive, absurd, and contemptible, that I at first thought it degrading to any reasonable person, to suffer it to occupy any part of his attention; my feeling was pretty much the same with that of Quin the player, when a celebrated actress once gave him a pluck by the wig in the Green-room: 'Madam,' said he, turning to her, 'I would spit in your face, only that would be taking notice of you.' However, on further reflection, and on finding by the Speeches already mentioned, that Burkis had made a great progress among British Statesmen, I began to perceive, that lies, the most monstrous that ever were invented respecting the State and Government of Ireland, and its Protestant inhabitants, had gained credit in England, with men who had power to do infinite mischief if they were not undeceived. I therefore thought it prudent to waste a little more paper and ink, even on this infamous, malevolent, anonymous slanderer. But my Strictures on his libel shall be very short, because, in my Observations on the preceding Author, the reader will find all the positions of the Author of '*Considerations, &c.*' fully refuted.

This

This Writer introduces himself to the public under the mask of a violent partisan of the measure of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland: but he wears a very thin mask; for through it may be very distinctly seen the envenomed, enthusiastic Irish friar, just discharged on the nation from the mortar of a Spanish monastery: all the acrimony, all the falsehood, all the ignorance, all the bigotry, all the fury, in short, all the combustibles of so noisome a composition! He pursues the following line of attack, supported by explosions of bombs, carcasses, and stink-pots, on the Protestants of Ireland.

He gives the titles of English Colonists, Planters, and Settlers, to the Irish Protestants; and that of Natives to the Irish Romanists; and throughout asserts, that the Protestants are a British colony, and a handful only when compared with the natives. He states, 'that the Irish Parliament is only the representative of this handful of colonists, and not the representative of the natives, or of any part of them;' and styles it throughout, in derision, 'the *Parliament of Dublin*.' He states, that 'there are in this Parliament of Dublin (meaning the House of Commons) one hundred and sixteen placemen, out of three hundred of which it consists; and that all its proceedings are the effects of fear and corruption: *that it is elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen, to the exclusion of the ancient occupants of the soil.*' (See page 41.) He calls all Irish Protestants 'the Grantees of Cromwell and William the Third, the children of their soldiers, and the heirs of their rapacity.' He accuses these two personages, whom he insolently ranks together, 'with the greatest violence and excesses, and with the actions of the most grievous confiscations and forfeitures
' from

' from the natives.' (See page 24.) He states the Pro-
 testants of Ireland to be ' the most wretched, ill-go-
 verned, and dependent colony on the face of the globe.'
 (See page 14.) He describes the Government of Ireland
 ' as a perpetual military government, the Irish Pro-
 testants, as having a trembling dependance upon the
 Crown of England for a daily and precarious existence.'
 (See page 5.) He thus paints the situation and senti-
 ment of the Irish Protestants and Romanists with respect
 to each other, when observing on the effects of the British
 Act of renunciation of the power of legislating for Ire-
 land in the year 1782: ' They (the Romanists) knew
 that the representatives of a Protestant colony would
 not, and could not *dare* to trust the *immense* majority of
 their nation with an equality of political rights and con-
 dition; they saw that what they looked for, from the power
 and magnanimity of Britain, became hopeless from the
 hands of *settlers*, whose *weakness* made them *jealous* and
afraid. They were too conscious of their own *strength*,
 too fond of their *title*, to desire or expect that they
 should be ever trusted by an *usurper* (the Protestant Go-
 vernment), whose *force* they *despised*, and whose *right*
 they *disputed*: they felt themselves abandoned and
 turned over to the generosity of a handful of proprietors,
 who were too *powerless* and too *timid* to be merciful:
 and if the independent Parliament had been *compelled* to
 make the concession, they would have been too sen-
 sible of the cause from which it sprung, would have
 called it *fear*, and not *liberality*, and they would have
 seized the proffered boon, not as satisfaction and con-
 tent, but as a *step in the ladder of their ambition*, and an
 advanced post in the march of revenge.' (See pages 51, 52.)

In the very middle of this torrent of abuse on the Protestants and Parliament of Ireland, and panegyric on the Romanists; this display of the usurpation, weakness, and timidity of the Protestants; and of the strength and magnanimity of the Romanists, and justice of their claims of power, dominion, and exclusive possession of the kingdom, is to be met the following curious sentence, which I insert as a specimen of the Author's modesty and consistency:

‘ I draw a veil over every thing that can disgust or inflame.’
 He then proceeds thus further to draw his veil: *‘ Though I have heard the offer of Union condemned, and the salvation of a few asserted to depend upon the extirpation of the majority; that the Catholics must be extinguished, and put out; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard such sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a House of Parliament.’* (See pages 63, 64.)

This Author then takes care to distinguish the United Irishmen, whose barbarities were too notorious to be denied, or openly palliated, from the Irish Romanists; and to lay to the charge of the United Irishmen, as distinct from the Romanists, the guilt of the late Rebellion; but even here he cannot forbear falling furiously on the Protestants of Ireland for their resistance to this Rebellion, and their audacity in presuming to defend their lives and properties from the Romish Rebels, and in attempting to punish them for the crimes they had committed. The late *Massacre and Rebellion*, with all due tenderness for the Romish insurgents, he calls a *Civil War*. ‘ I confess,’ says he, ‘ I fear there are among our settlers in Ireland some unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another conclusion of the contest, and very different from ours; the horrible principle which has been disclosed even in Eng-
 land’

* *land* (alluding to the Rohilla principle) induces me very
 * strongly to apprehend, that there is no obstacle in a part
 * of the Colony more hostile and formidable to the pro-
 * jected Union, than the hope to be enabled, by the arms
 * and treasure of the mother-country, to obtain such de-
 * cided and definitive success in the *Civil War*, as to en-
 * able their independent Parliament to attain and confis-
 * cate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not
 * actually in the occupation of that Colony.' Then, after
 expressing his hope, that His Majesty will never give the
 Royal assent to bills for the attainder of the Irish Rebels,
 or confiscation of their property, and consequently that, if
 vanquished, they will escape all punishment; he proceeds
 thus further to cover with his *veil*, every thing that can
 disgust Irish Protestants, or inflame Irish Romanists: ' If
 * the only obstacle to Union in the bosom of our Colony,
 * is this criminal and flagitious hope, of deriving from our
 * victories an unjust and miserable success of slavery and
 * plunder; I am fearful that it is impossible to assign,
 * after every allowance for passion and for prejudice, a
 * better or more pardonable plea, for the refusal or the
 * silence of the Catholic. *Revenge* and the hope of prey
 * are his undisguised motives, and he is only so far *less* ab-
 * surd, or *less* guilty than the colonist I have described, as
 * he believes himself to have a right, according to the doctrines
 * of *Imprescriptibility*, to possess the lands which no time, no
 * length of possession can alienate, no acquiescence transfer.'
 (See pages from 65 to 69.)

Under pretence of condemning the infidelity of the
 French Republicans, he introduces a panegyric on the
 Irish Romish Bishops; describing them, *as men of learn-*
ing,

ing, *humanity, and piety* (page 71): and under pretence of reconciling Irish Romanists to the measure of an Union, he takes an occasion of passing the highest encomiums on the whole party; not forgetting, by way of praising their patience and forbearance, to state, ‘that they have been
 ‘ most grievously oppressed by the Colony; that their appetite for revenge, and their exertions in the pursuit of it
 ‘ (that is, their Rebellions), were justifiable;’ but then he meekly exhorts them to sacrifice their *revenge*, ‘because it
 ‘ is almost satiated in seas of *Civil blood*: that a great change
 ‘ is propounded to them, and they are called to the rights
 ‘ of citizenship by the projected Union;’ and piously asks the clerical Irish Romanist, ‘will he defer to unfurl the
 ‘ *sacred banner*, and to call back the deluded Rebel from
 ‘ the colours of Infidelity?’ that is, from his alliance with France, ‘which nation,’ he says, ‘knows the cruel power
 ‘ of artifice and design upon the devout and agitated bosom
 ‘ of poor and honest ignorance, sacrificing all things, suffering
 ‘ all things, and daring all things, in the cause supposed of
 ‘ *Religion.*’ (See from page 72 to 76.) The author then states, ‘that England cannot support her Colony in its
 ‘ present state; that it were better for England, that her
 ‘ Colony and the whole island of Ireland were precipitated
 ‘ to the bottom of the sea, or blotted from the map, and
 ‘ expunged from the list of nations, than that she should
 ‘ remain a diversion of her power and force, an arsenal of
 ‘ attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of her blood
 ‘ and resources in the present war.’ (See page 79.) He then asserts, ‘that *there are three millions of wretched natives*, whom the Irish Protestant cannot oppress but by
 ‘ the arms of England, nor deliver but with his own
 ‘ ruin.’ (See page 84.) ‘That the natives have been always
 ‘ oppressed

‘ oppressed by the Colony, and that they have no hopes of
 ‘ reprieve and safety, but in the grant of *Complete Eman-*
 ‘ *cipation*: that the Protestant Government of Ireland is
 ‘ vested in a representative body, the majority of which
 ‘ are placemen and aspirants of the Law, and in a factious
 ‘ aristocracy which outweighs even corruption.’ (See
 pages 88, 89.) ‘ That the natives or Catholics’ (for he
 sometimes calls the Irish Romanists by the one name,
 sometimes by the other; but the Protestants invariably
 Colonists, Planters, and Settlers) ‘ cannot expect eman-
 ‘ cipation from the *Parliament of Dublin*. Will a handful
 ‘ of men emancipate a multitude? Will an armed regi-
 ‘ ment liberate a disarmed host? It is a mystery not very
 ‘ profound, that *Fear* is a coward, that *Weakness* cannot
 ‘ confide, and that *Injury* never pardons.’—‘ The Par-
 ‘ liament of Ireland’ (here the Author nodded, he meant
 the Parliament of Dublin), ‘ dares not set him (the Ca-
 ‘ tholic) free. It is the Imperial Parliament, it is the
 ‘ power, greatness, and superiority of England which alone
 ‘ can break *his chains*, or contain him in the first trans-
 ‘ ports of *Liberty*. Will the native refuse the boon (the
 ‘ Union) at the end of *six centuries of calamity, of fruitless*
 ‘ *struggles, and tenacious oppression?*’ (See page 91.) Then
 still under the pretence of recommending the Union, he
 proceeds to throw the covering of his veil over every
 thing that can disgust or inflame, by the following in-
 vective on the Colony: ‘ The Union is necessary, because
 ‘ the alternative that remains, is such as nature sickens
 ‘ at, as humanity rejects, as instinct flies from, because
 ‘ it is rebellion and military government, because it is
 ‘ imprisonment, torture, and sudden execution: because
 ‘ it is armed prosecutors and juries of soldiers, with *their*
 ‘ *Serjeants learned in the Law*: (witty rogue!) because it
 ‘ is

' is the curfew and the passport bill; because it is in-
 ' vasion, massacre, rape, and pillage, and conflagration ;
 ' because it is the wretchedest and most degrading condi-
 ' tion of humanity, the most disgusting series of misery
 ' and guilt, the blackest and most lengthened scene and
 ' procession of crimes and sufferings, that ever humbled
 ' or afflicted man.' (See pages 93, 94.)

He then proceeds to state a dilemma to the Irish Pro-
 testant : *you must either agree to an Union, or grant Emanci-
 pation to the Romanists ;* and shows that the last horn will
 gore him to death, the first only slightly wound him : ' if,'
 says he, ' you determine on the last measure, you receive
 ' a Catholic Parliament, you are ruined if the doors of
 ' Parliament are opened to a Catholic majority, if you
 ' divide your power with three millions of malcontents.'
 (See pages 94, 95.) Admitting here, that though the Ro-
 manists shall in his sense be emancipated, yet they will
 remain malcontents ; and that if they are admitted into
 Parliament, they will soon form the majority.

His last argument to induce Irish Romanists to agree
 to an Union is, that they will be admitted to seats in the
 Imperial Parliament ; that is, as he expresses it, they will
 be *completely emancipated*.

I have now laboured through this most disgusting per-
 formance, and laid before the reader an epitome of the
 doctrines contained in it in the language of the author.
 I now proceed to make a few short remarks on it, just to
 point out to the British reader its falsehoods and absurdity :
 to show that the whole tenour of it militates against its
 pretended purpose ; and that the Author himself meant it as

a justification of the recent and all former Rebellions of the Irish Romanists, of all their massacres, robberies, and conflagrations ; as a vehicle of all manner of invective and slander against the Irish Protestants, and the English Government in Ireland ; and as a provocative to the Irish Romanists to recommence hostilities against their Protestant fellow-subjects, and stimulate them to revenge and murder.

I will begin with making an observation or two, on his styling Irish Protestants Colonists, and Irish Romanists Natives. His first view in distinguishing the inhabitants of Ireland into these two classes, was, that he might indulge the rancour of an Irish Romanist against Irish Protestants by the more unbridled abuse, from conviction that English Protestants would not attend patiently to such reviling of their fellow Protestants, under the title of Protestants, and for no other cause than their being Protestants. The Americans, as was the general opinion, had not conducted themselves with gratitude towards the mother-country, and he hoped to divert the resentment of the inhabitants of Great Britain against the American colonists for their secession, on the heads of the Irish Protestants ; by styling them Colonists, and representing that their late partial rejection of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain was a plain proof, that they intended to follow the example of the American colonists, and break off all connexion with Great Britain. Another and his principal purpose was, to justify the Irish rebellions and massacres, and to induce the British nation to believe, that they were only the struggles of the oppressed natives of Ireland, to free themselves from the tyranny of a handful of colonists, wrongful intruders on their soil and property, and rapacious plunderers ;

plunderers ; and thereby to induce Great Britain to join them in crushing so flagitious, so contemptible, and so feeble a band of monopolists ; who, though unable to maintain their ill-gotten possessions against the natives, the right owners, without the assistance of Great Britain, yet had the audacity to reject an Incorporating Union. The Writer knew that the British nation could not be led into a co-operation with Irish Romanists, in so wicked a scheme as the destruction of the Protestants of Ireland, but by artifice and cunning : he hoped to make such a scheme palatable, and to veil it from the eyes of the British nation at large, by the substitution of the words *Natives* and *Colonists*, in the place of *Papists* and *Protestants*.

That he is himself an Irish Romanist is notorious from many passages in his pamphlet, though he endeavours, awkwardly, to conceal it ; as some of his countrymen in conversation attempt, ludicrously enough, to pass themselves for natives of Britain, by an affected imitation of English provincial tones, and muzzling the Irish brogue. And one of his main purposes is, to excite the Irish Romanists to a new rebellion and massacre, by describing the Irish Protestants as a handful of colonists, outcasts from their own country, and desperate adventurers, the proper objects of the vengeance of the natives ; and this purpose he so little conceals, that he has in several passages represented, in express terms, the propensity of Irish Romanists to *revenge*, that is, to rebellion, as very justifiable. If the British nation could be induced by such base arts to concur in the destruction of the Irish Protestants (which could be effected by the power of Britain confederated with the mass of Irish Romanists), this Writer well knew, that the sure foundation of British influence and power

in Ireland would be uprooted; and, as he well knew the irreconcilable hostility of the Irish Romanists to a Protestant British Government, he was convinced that such an event as the destruction of the Irish Protestants would be immediately followed by an attempt of the Irish Romanists to separate themselves, with the assistance of France (whose politics he fraudulently pretends to reprobate), from Great Britain, and to establish an independent Romish Republic in Ireland; and I have already shown that this is the avowed intention of the whole Romish party in that kingdom. Such is the fraud of distinguishing the inhabitants of Ireland into *Colonists* and *Natives*, rather than into *Protestants* and *Romanists*! I will now show the falsehood and absurdity of the distinction.

Geraldus Cambrensis, otherwise Gerald Barry (who was, in the reign of King Henry the Second, Bishop of St. David's in Wales, Historiographer and Secretary to Henry, a man, for that age, of great learning, and the person whom he sent into Ireland with his son John, when he created him King of Ireland), Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, and all the ancient English historians, agree in giving the following account of the acquisition of Ireland by the English Monarchs: In the reign of Henry the Second, Ireland was divided into certain *suffragan kingdoms* (if I may so call them), subject to one Monarch, as principal King or Emperor, to whom the other Kings paid much the same homage as the German Electors at present to his Imperial Majesty. Intestine wars drove one of these petty Kings from his own country: he fled into England, and implored the assistance of Henry to enable him to regain his territories.

Henry,

Henry, after sending some adventurers before him to smooth the way, went into Ireland at the head of a considerable army, in the year 1172, above six hundred years ago. The Irish nation, worried by continual intestine war, universally received him as a deliverer. All the Reguli and Chiefs of the nation, with the chief Monarch himself, threw their crowns at his feet: they, with the whole body of the Bishops and Clergy, elected him King or Lord of the whole island, and swore allegiance to him. He accepted the dominion, and agreed with them, *that they should enjoy the like liberties and immunities, and be governed by the same mild laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, as the people of England.* Henry afterwards, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, created his son John, under the style and title of Lord of Ireland, King of that country; for he thereby enjoyed all manner of kingly jurisdiction, pre-eminence, and authority. Richard the First, eldest brother of John, afterwards died without issue, on which event John became King of England, and the sovereignty of the two nations became again vested in the same person. Henry the Third, son of John, in November 1216, gave a Magna Charta to Ireland, word for word the same as that which he eight years afterwards granted to his kingdom of England, save the necessary alterations in the names of places. By the Irish Statute of the 33d of Henry the Eighth, chap. 1, the King's style of Lord of Ireland was changed to that of King, because, as the preamble recites, *' the King, under the style and title of Lord of Ireland, enjoyed all manner of kingly jurisdiction, pre-eminence, and authority in Ireland, belonging to the imperial state and majesty of a King;'* and so the King's style has remained ever since. Thus it is plain that all the inhabitants of

Ireland, whether aboriginals, or of English race, descended from ancestors who from time to time, since that kingdom was annexed to the English Crown, settled in Ireland, are equally the King's subjects, and equally entitled to every benefit of the British Constitution, except such of them as render themselves liable to particular restraints, by professing doctrines inimical to the State.

Mr. Molyneux, in his celebrated '*State of Ireland*,' has the following observation on this absurd position, that Ireland is to be considered as a British Colony: 'The last thing I shall take notice of, that some raise against us, is, that Ireland is to be looked upon only as a colony from England; and therefore as the Roman colonies were subject to and bound by the laws made by the Senate at Rome, so ought Ireland by those made by the great Council at Westminster. Of all the objections raised against us, I take this to be the most extravagant: it seems not to have the least foundation or colour from reason or record. Does it not manifestly appear by the Constitution of Ireland, that it is a complete kingdom within itself? Do not the Kings of England bear the style of Ireland amongst the rest of their kingdoms? Is this agreeable to the nature of a colony? Do they use the title of Kings of Virginia, New England, or Maryland? Was not Ireland given by Henry the Second, in a Parliament at Oxford, to his son John, and made thereby an absolute kingdom, separate and wholly independent on England, till they both came united again in him, after the death of his brother Richard without issue? Have not multitudes of Acts of Parliament, both in England and Ireland,

1

' declared

‘ declared Ireland a complete kingdom? Is not Ireland
 ‘ styled in them all, the Kingdom or Realm of Ireland?
 ‘ Do these names agree to a colony? Have we not a
 ‘ Parliament and Courts of Judicature? Do these things
 ‘ agree with a colony? This, on all hands, involves so
 ‘ many absurdities, that I think it deserves nothing more
 ‘ of our consideration.’ See Molyneux’s State of Ireland,
 printed by Long, Dublin, 1749. P. 52, 53.

Since I have quoted this celebrated tract, I hope I shall be excused for a short digression here, to show by another quotation from it, that Mr. Molyneux, the famous champion for the independence of the Irish Legislature on that of England, was notwithstanding a firm friend to an Incorporating Union of the two Kingdoms. In page 37 he has the following passage, which is fraudulently omitted in a subsequent edition printed in 1782 :
 ‘ If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded
 ‘ that the Parliament of England may bind Ireland, it
 ‘ must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought
 ‘ to have their Representatives in the Parliament of Eng-
 ‘ land; and this I believe we would be willing enough
 ‘ to embrace, *but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for.*’
 How small the hopes of the Irish nation at the time Mr. Molyneux wrote, were, of their being admitted to the benefits clearly resulting from an Incorporating Union, may be conjectured from what happened soon after the accession of Queen Anne. The Irish House of Peers at that time petitioned the Crown to promote such an Incorporating Union; but the English Ministers scornfully rejected the application. Thank Heaven! sound sense and reason have since triumphed over such absurd prejudices,

To return from my digression. I trust I have clearly proved, that the Irish nation neither is, nor can be considered as, a British colony; and I have before, in accounting for the sanguinary disposition of Irish Romanists to their Protestant fellow-subjects, shown, that no such distinction as that of Native and Colonist does or can subsist between the present inhabitants of Ireland; and that the only general distinction between them is, that of Protestant and Romanist,—a distinction, which I hope will be extinguished only by the conversion of so large a portion of our population to the Protestant Faith. I shall therefore, in the following remarks on this abominable libel, and in extracting and expelling the virus of it, substitute the words *Protestant* and *Romanist* for the words *Colonist* and *Native*.

The Author, in the first place, states, that the Irish Protestants, when compared with the Romanists, are but a handful. I have already exposed the falsity of this statement, both as to number and property. (See Appendix, No. 1.) He asserts that the Irish Parliament (called by him sneeringly the Parliament of Dublin) is not the Representative of the Nation, but of this handful of Protestants. Irish Romanists were enabled, by the Act of 1793, already mentioned, to vote at the elections of Members of Parliament, and were admitted to the exercise of that franchise at the election of the present Irish Commons. By the British Constitution, the election of the Commons is made by the people in proportion to their property, not their numbers. I have already shown, that of the property of the nation, thirty-nine parts out of forty are in the hands of Irish Protestants; so that if the Act of 1793 had not passed, and if the present

present Commons had been elected by the Protestants alone, it would be a falsehood to state, that they were not the legitimate Representatives of the People: they would be the Representatives of thirty-nine parts out of forty of the People, reckoned by their property; the remaining fortieth part of the property being in the hands of persons disqualified from voting by the laws of the Society, founded in wisdom and justice. But even that fortieth part voted on the election of the present Representatives. In fact, the Commons of Ireland are elected by a much greater proportion of the property of the Irish nation, than the Commons of Great Britain by that of the property of the British nation, the relative wealth and population of the two nations duly considered; so that this Author's assertion, that the present Irish Commons are not the Representatives of the Nation in general, but of a handful of Protestants, is as false as most of his other assertions.

Further to disgrace and vilify the Irish Parliament, and to excite and provoke Irish Romanists to rebellion and murder, and with no other possible design, he states, *that the Irish House of Commons is elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen, to the exclusion of the ancient occupants of the soil.* Here, notwithstanding his flimsy disguise, the whole traitorous Irish Romanist bursts forth in full deformity! It can hardly be alledged that such an assertion was intended to provoke the enmity of the English Nation against the Irish Parliament. No, no: it is the true genuine sentiment of all Irish Romanists, who call all Protestants in their language *Sasonaghs*, that is, Englishmen: the Irish Parliament are *Protestants*, and therefore, in their vocabulary, *Englishmen*. It is the
Romish

Romish war-whoop in Ireland against their Protestant countrymen: it marks them out for slaughter, as the cry of Mad dog! is the signal for the destruction of the canine species. It is the very same sentiment contained in the Letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the Society of United Irishmen, and the celebrated Agent of the Irish Romanists, to his associated Conspirators in Belfast, in the year 1791. It is as follows: ‘ We have no national Government: *we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen*, filled, as to commerce and politics, with the short-sighted and ignorant prejudices of their country.’ (See Appendix, No. 2, to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, 1798.)

This abuse and degradation of the Irish Parliament militate directly against the pretended scope of the pamphlet, which is, to induce the Irish nation to agree to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and which can be accomplished in a lawful peaceable way, not otherwise than by the concurrence of the Parliaments of the two countries in the measure; and this Writer not only insinuates, but openly asserts and proclaims, that the Irish Parliament is not the Representative of the Irish Nation, that is, is not a Parliament, and is therefore incompetent to contract or agree for the Irish Nation. Here then his mask falls entirely off, and his true purpose appears, which is, to inflame the Irish Romanists to rise up against and destroy a band of English Usurpers, pretending to be their Representatives, and actually assuming the government of the country. He calls this band, in many places, Robbers and Plunderers; and tells the Irish Romanists, that the weakness of this band makes them
jealous

jealous and afraid of them ; and that they cannot expect to be emancipated or trusted by such Usurpers, whose force they despise ; and that the Irish Protestants have a trembling dependance on Great Britain for a daily and precarious existence.

In the next place, he takes care to inculcate the doctrine of the baseness and corruption of this band of English Usurpers, the Irish Commons : he states, with his accustomed disregard, and even contempt of truth, that out of the whole number, being three hundred, there are one hundred and sixteen Placemen, and seventy Aspirants of the Law. The number of practising Barristers in the House of Commons does not amount to more than thirty-five, including all the Law Officers of the Crown, and many of these are Placemen ; and there are not more Placemen, in proportion to their numbers, in the Irish House of Commons than in the British. In my ' Answer ' to Mr. Grattan's Address to the Citizens of Dublin, I have fully discussed the question, whether the conferring places of trust and emolument on Members of the House of Commons by the Crown, be an improper or unconstitutional exercise of the prerogative ; and I trust I have proved that it is not : for I have shown, first, that the Crown cannot select persons to fill places of trust out of any other body with so much propriety ; nay more, that the Crown is under the necessity of employing Members of the House of Commons as its servants, in executing the public business of the nation, in preference to the members of any other body : and, in the next place, I have shown, that the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons, derived from the patronage of such places, is a constitutional influence ; that the frame of

our Government could not subsist without it; and that, in many cases of political economy, theory must bend a little to practice. But it is worth observing, how inconsistent this Author's accusation of corruption against the Irish House of Commons is, with that part of its conduct which he pretends has raised all his indignation against it; that is, its rejection of the proposal on the part of Great Britain of an Incorporating Union of the two nations, notwithstanding this proposal was supported in the Irish House of Commons by the whole weight and influence of the Administration, and by several honest and able Senators, who were not Placemen; yet it was rejected. It was supported by one hundred and eight Members only. What became then of the one hundred and sixteen Placemen? It is plain that the alledged corruption of the Members of that House, by the disposition of places among them, had not the effect of warping them to vote contrary to their opinions. In truth, the measure was too precipitately urged; due time was not afforded for the cool and serious consideration of the great and substantial merit of so important a project; it was very improvidently sought to be carried by a coup de main: but I trust and firmly expect that the measure will meet with a very different reception in the ensuing session; and that time and reflection, and the good sense of the Commons, though indignant at the unjust accusation of corruption, will ensure its success.

The author's next abuse of the Irish Protestants, as grantees of Cromwell and William the Third, as the children of their foldiers and the heirs of their rapacity, again betrays the Irish Romanist, whose heart is goaded by the œstrum of revenge. As the first effusion of his
rancour,

rancour, he places our illustrious Deliverer, in part the Founder, or at least the Restorer, of our present glorious Constitution, in the same rank with the desperate Regicide. Next he vents his abuse on all Irish Protestants, stating them to be the children of the soldiers of these two Commanders, and the heirs of their rapacity. He reprobates all the forfeitures and confiscations of the Irish Traitors, which took place after the suppression of two Irish Rebellions; the one in the reign of King Charles the First, the other in that of William and Mary. These forfeitures and confiscations are the constant themes of abusive Romish declamation in Ireland. The whole party load the memory of Cromwell, as well as of King William, with every species of vituperation: this snarling cur, therefore, only runs on the trail of his growling precursors, and joins in the constant cry of his own pack, when he opens against the Regicide and the Monarch; but it is not improper to examine the grounds of his acrimonious complaints.

The English Monarchs, successors of Henry the Second, inherited great dominions in France. The maintenance of their power on the continent engrossed their attention, drained their treasures, and found constant employment for their armies. Hence the Government of Ireland, till the reign of Elizabeth, was much neglected. The Irish natives, scared at the dawn of civilization, preferred the gloom of their own forests and morasses to the sunshine of cultivation and improvement. The great English Lords, who became entitled to vast tracts of land in Ireland, such as the Earl of Chepstow, otherwise Strongbow, who, by marriage with the only daughter and child of the provincial

vincial King of Leinster, acquired vast possessions in that province, did not take the proper care to improve the country. They brought over with them to Ireland many of their friends and vassals: they by degrees mixed with the native Irish, and adopted their barbarous customs. When the great civil war broke out in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, most of the chiefs of the great English families in Ireland joined the contending parties, and went over to England with their vassals and retainers. The barbarous Irish joined the degenerate English mixed with them, took the advantage of the weakness of the Government, the natural effect of the migration of its supporters: they rebelled, and seized on nearly three fourths of the kingdom, which continued in a lawless barbarous state till the accession of Queen Elizabeth. That great Princess, after a long and expensive war, reduced to obedience all the Irish Rebels, but died before she could reap the harvest of her victories. Her successor, James the First, laboured with great activity and zeal on the settlement and civilization of the whole kingdom. He divided the lands forfeited by Rebellion, in some places into three parts; two of which parts he distributed among the ancient possessors, whether native Irish or degenerate English; the remaining third he bestowed on new settlers from Scotland and England. In other places, he distributed half of these lands to the old possessors, the other half to new settlers. He divided such parts of the kingdom as had, in the manner before mentioned, been seized on and occupied by the natives and degenerate English, into counties. In these new, or rather revived counties, he erected towns and created boroughs: he instituted a regular Parliament, the Members of the House of Commons of which were elected
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by the old possessors and the new settlers without distinction, in proportion to their properties, throughout the whole nation. Romanists and Protestants sat indiscriminately in the Houses of Lords and Commons. None were excluded by any Test Oaths whatsoever: the only oath required was the Oath of Allegiance. Every measure which human wisdom could devise was pursued, as well in the reign of James as in that of his successor Charles, to civilize and improve the country. The inhabitants, without distinction, were invited to all the comforts and all the benefits of civilization and a well-regulated Government. The nation assumed a different appearance from that it had worn for a series of ages; and a complete fusion of all descriptions of Irish inhabitants would have been then effected with rapidity, were it not for the unhappy differences on the score of Religion. The intolerant, unsocial doctrines of Popery, irreconcilable to the Protestant institutions, had taken deep root in the minds of the majority of the inhabitants; and from thence sprung the most barbarous and most unprovoked Rebellion of Irish Romanists recorded in history. This Rebellion, which broke out in the year 1641, cannot be palliated, as an Insurrection of oppressed Natives against usurping Colonists: for the best disciplined, best provided, and most numerous army of the Insurgents, was composed of the inhabitants of the English Pale; a part of Ireland which was peopled by English settlers, who for ages before had continued faithful to the English Crown, and till that period had never intermixed by marriage, or any sort of connexion, with the native Irish. It was commanded by General Preston, brother of the then Lord Gormanstown. It was an avowed Rebellion of Irish Romanists, undertaken
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by them for the purpose of extirpating Irish Protestants of all descriptions, and severing themselves from England, at that time distracted by civil commotions. The Rebels in Munster were commanded by Lord Mountgarret, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, all, or most of them, of the old English race. During the first year of this Rebellion, the Rebels murdered, at the lowest calculation, near forty thousand Irish Protestants, men, women, and children, in cold blood: many of them they put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Such of the Protestants as escaped from the first explosion of the Rebellion, which burst suddenly and unexpectedly like a thunder-storm on their heads, flew to arms; and for a space of ten years and upwards, with very little assistance from England, maintained a cruel and destructive, though unequal war, with the Rebels, and protected the surviving Loyalty of the nation, as well from the Republican Fanatics of that age, as from these Romish Traitors, who frequently, in the course of the Rebellion, joined the Republicans, and invariably adopted such measures as they thought would most conduce to their ends,—the Establishment of Popery, the Extirpation of Protestants, and the Separation of Ireland from the British Crown. At one period of this Rebellion, the chief Traitors proposed a treaty with the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant in Ireland; to which proposal he was obliged, by the necessity of His Majesty's affairs, to accede. The treaty was concluded, and the Marquis, with a part of the Royal Army, was inveigled by the Rebels to Kilkenny, the place of meeting of what they stiled the General Assembly of the Catholics of Ireland, much of the same nature with the late Romish Convention which assembled

in Dublin. The Rebels most perfidiously, at the instance of the Pope's Nuncio, broke the treaty; and two of their armies, commanded by Generals Preston and O'Neil, marched to surprize the Marquis, to intercept him in his retreat to Dublin, and to cut off his troops. They were very near succeeding in their enterprize, the Marquis escaping with great difficulty. In short, they contributed full as much as the Scotch Covenanters, to the final success of the Republicans in England, and the subversion of the Monarchy. But the Almighty saw their wickedness and perfidy, and punished them by the hands of their own associates in rebellion and murder. The English Republicans, having made themselves masters of England, sent over an army under Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, not to their lawful Sovereign, but to the newly-erected English Republic; and to revenge the blood of the Protestants of Ireland so inhumanly spilled by them. In one short campaign he completely routed and dispersed their murdering, dastardly bands. Such of them as escaped the sword, he drove out of the nation or hanged, parcelled out their landed property, justly forfeited by their Rebellion, among the surviving Irish Protestants, who had been robbed by them; his own officers and soldiers, in lieu of their pay; and men who had subscribed large sums of money to defray the expenses of his expedition, who were styled Adventurers. On the restoration of Monarchy, this division of the lands so justly forfeited to the Crown was revised, and its justice and propriety strictly examined and inquired into, by Commissioners duly appointed for that purpose. In every case in which it appeared that the lands of an innocent person were comprized in the division, they were restored to him or his heir; and the

person in consequence dispossessed was awarded a compensation, called a Reprisal; and the titles of all to the lands justly forfeited were established and confirmed by two Acts of the Irish Parliament, entitled, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

The complaint of this Romish Writer of the confiscations by King William is still more unjust. The Irish Romanists, after the accession of William and Mary, rose in rebellion in a mass. Their views were the very same as in the Rebellion of 1641,—the establishment of Popery, and Separation from England. Their apparent attachment to King James the Second arose from interested views: they hoped by his means to procure powerful assistance from the Court of France, and they considered him only as an engine auxiliary to their real designs. When that Rebellion was finally suppressed by the surrender of Limerick in the year 1691, one of the conditions stipulated on behalf of the Romanists was, that such of them as chose to remain in their own country, rather than repair to France and enter into the service of that hostile nation, should, on their taking the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, preserve their estates discharged of forfeiture and confiscation on account of their rebellion. A few of them chose to stay at home, and they preserved their estates: the rest went to France, and thereby voluntarily submitted their estates to forfeiture; which estates were afterwards partly sold for the public benefit, and partly granted by the Crown to persons who had loyally served it in such critical times. The complaints, therefore, of this Romish Writer, of the forfeitures and confiscations in the times of Cromwell and King William, amount to this;

this; that the confiscation and forfeiture of the property of Rebels, the most sanguinary and barbarous whose crimes ever blotted and defaced the page of history, are unjust; amount to robbery and plunder, exercised by rapacious usurpers, though warranted by the known law of the land in all ages; and consequently that the law of the land warrants and patronizes robbery, plunder, and rapacity; and that all loyal subjects are robbers and plunderers. And in conformity with this doctrine, he proceeds to reprobate all punishment of the late Irish Rebels by confiscation and forfeiture.

This Romish Writer asserts, that Irish Protestants have a trembling dependance on the English nation for their existence; and dwells on their weakness, timidity, and cruelty, and on the irresistible strength, numbers, and courage of the present race of Irish Romanists, with exultation and delight; intimating, that if the English nation will remain neuter, the Irish Romanists will instantly extirpate the Irish Protestants, who at present, by the aid of England, keep them in *chains*. It is therefore proper to examine whether Irish Romanists be in a state of oppression and slavery, and kept in *chains* by their Protestant countrymen. By the laws of Ireland at present, the Romanists enjoy more real political liberty, and better security for their lives and properties, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign State in the known world. They elect their Representatives in Parliament; in which Parliament, together with the King, the supreme authority of the State is vested; they have the benefit of a constitutional Jury to try all questions which affect their lives or properties; they enjoy the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act as much as Protestants; they

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have a share in the Magistracy ; they are Grand Jurors ; they can acquire and dispose of their properties, real and personal, as freely as Protestants ; they enjoy a complete toleration in Religion ; the Law and the Army are open to them ; and they are on a perfect equality with all His Majesty's other subjects, except that their own refusal to take the Test Oaths excludes them from seats in Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State. (See all the present incapacities of Irish Romanists, particularly specified in the 9th section of the Act of the 33d year of His present Majesty, entitled, ' An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.' Appendix, No. 2.) Such are the chains and fetters in which their Protestant countrymen bind Irish Romanists ! and such is the slavery so pathetically deplored by this Writer, and others of his persuasion !

The strength and puissance of Irish Romanists have been put to the trial in their late Rebellion. They were vanquished and completely subdued by the Protestant power of the nation, without any assistance from England, in the course of about six weeks. The Marquis Cornwallis, as before observed, had no part of the merit of quelling the Rebellion : it was effectually crushed by the measures taken by his predecessor, before he had time in any manner to interfere. It is true, some part of the routed Rebels took shelter, after his arrival in Ireland, in the mountains of Wicklow, and from thence made incursions, in detached gangs of banditti, into the counties of Kildare and Meath ; but they were hunted like wild beasts by the Protestant Yeomanry, and would have been all slain or hanged, were it not for the merciful interposition

interposition of the Marquis. Immediately after his arrival in Ireland, he published a Proclamation of Indemnity to such of these Rebels as would submit, and surrender their arms. His Generals restrained the efforts of the Yeomanry, incensed against the Rebels for the slaughter of their relations and friends, and the waste of their property. At the time this Proclamation was issued, the Rebellion, as to any effects to be dreaded from it of important damage to the nation in general, was crushed; and the routed Traitors, hopeless, without resource or means of efficient resistance, justly expected the punishment due to their horrible crimes; which the Marquis, following the dictates (as I suppose) of his own clemency, or perhaps by orders from England, remitted.

Two of his Generals were employed to suppress the only considerable body of this scattered Banditti, which remained together in the mountains of Wicklow: they were mostly Murderers, Robbers, and Desperadoes, hopeless of pardon; some of them Deserters from different Regiments of Militia. A Gentleman of the county conducted these Generals and their forces to a certain part of the mountains, the rendezvous of these assassins, where they might have destroyed the whole gang, amounting to about six hundred; but these Commanders declined to attack them, declaring they were unwilling to shed the blood of *the poor wretches*. They therefore thought it prudent to coax them into submission; for which purpose they dispatched two Romish Priests to them, loaded with the Proclamations of Indemnity; they collected as many country Girls as they could procure; they hired a number of Irish Pipers; they provided hogheads of whiskey, set the Pipers playing, and

the Girls dancing, which so delighted the Murderers, that many of them came in, gave up their pikes, partook of the festivity, and departed with plenty of whiskey in their stomachs, and protections in their pockets. The clemency of the Marquis and his Generals was celebrated in all the Romish Newspapers of the city of Dublin; his praises were wafted to London; the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, &c. re-echoed them; the whole Opposition in England from top to bottom,

From flashing Bentleys down to piddling Tibbalds,

rung the changes on his liberality, his mercy, his clemency, his wisdom, &c. : and well they might; for the Marquis arrived in Ireland in the very nick of time, to rescue their party there from final extinction. In short, in respect to the Irish Rebels, the conduct of the Marquis has been marked with concession, conciliation, and pardon, not with warlike hostility; for expiring Rebellion did not demand the exertion of his military talents, and he disdained to trample upon prostrate Traitors. It is my fervent wish, my constant prayer, that the mercy thus extended to these Romish Insurgents may incline their hearts to peace and loyalty, and make them understand, that they live under and are protected by a Government the mildest upon earth, which wishes not to inflict the punishments due to their crimes, but rather that they should repent, and enjoy the comforts of peace and security under the protection of laws, to which all the members of the community are equally subject.

The Marquis Cornwallis certainly merits the tribute of just praise from all the loyal subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, for the powerful exertions of his military skill,

skill, in putting the kingdom into the most complete state of defence against the invasion of the foreign enemy, with which it is threatened. Every branch of military service has been attended to by him with the utmost care and zeal: the troops have been stationed so judiciously in cantonments, that a strong body can be assembled with great expedition in any part of the kingdom, against which the Enemy may point his attack; the Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, Regulars and Militia, are perfectly well equipped and provided, and the Yeomanry well armed and trained, and ready for action at the shortest notice; the whole nation wears a military aspect, and its force is so combined and regulated by the skilful arrangements of the Marquis, that it may bid defiance to an infinitely more formidable force than its foreign enemies are able to bring against it; and internal tranquillity is re-established, *at least for the present.*

The weakness and timidity of the Irish Protestants are the next themes of this Romish Declaimer; according to him, their weakness makes them timid, their timidity cruel. Of the vaunts of the strength, numbers, and wealth of Irish Romanists I have already exposed the falsity; as well by the event of the late Rebellion, as by a fair calculation of their real numbers and wealth. The same arguments and calculation prove the real strength, numbers, and wealth of Irish Protestants. I trust that in the late Rebellion, as well as on all former occasions, Irish Protestants have plainly disproved the charge of timidity. The cruelty this Author charges upon them, is, that they cruelly refused to grant, what he calls Emancipation, to their Romish fellow-subjects: that is, it is

a great cruelty in Irish Protestants to refuse to deliver the Sovereignty of the State into the hands of Irish Romanists; and this cruelty arises from cowardice; for Irish Protestants are afraid to do so. If such be cruelty and cowardice, I hope such will for ever be imputable to Irish Protestants: may they always be afraid to deliver the State into the power of its enemies! and may they always cruelly refuse to betray the Constitution! it is the same cruelty and cowardice a man is guilty of, who tells a gang of robbers, ‘ Do not attempt to come into my house, for if you make such attempt, I and my servants will resist, and perhaps kill you; I will not trust you in my house, keep at the outside.’ Such a man certainly is afraid to let them into his house, and threatens to kill them if they attempt to force an entrance: is he therefore guilty of cowardice and cruelty?

But one argument remains, demonstrative of the real strength of Irish Protestants: they have raised during this war, in which their connexion with Great Britain has involved them, immense sums for the service of the Empire in general, and for the prosecution of the war. That Irish Parliament, which this Writer vilifies and traduces, as the Representatives of a handful of Protestants and Englishmen, has raised in this year seven millions sterling for the public service, though the nation was in that year weakened by the Rebellion of Irish Romanists; of which great sum one part out of forty only was, or could be paid by Irish Romanists: some part of that money, it is true, has been borrowed in England, but on the credit and security of the Irish Funds; both principal and interest are to be paid by Ireland. All the English Militia, who, on the breaking
out

out of the Rebellion, so gallantly volunteered for the assistance of their brethren the Protestants of Ireland, as well against their foreign as domestic enemies, were paid, after they arrived in Ireland, out of the Irish Treasury and Irish Funds. Are the Irish Protestants then so weak, as to be the objects of derision and contempt to this Romish Writer and his associates? And is Ireland only a *diversion of the power and force, an arsenal of attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of the blood and resources of England in the present war*, as this Romish Writer asserts? The revenues of Prussia, one of the most potent European States, do not amount yearly to six millions sterling. Ireland, by the efforts of her Protestant Parliament and population, has contributed seven millions in the last year, and in the preceding year, five millions, to the support of the war, and has not cost Great Britain a sixpence for her defence. It is true the British Fleet and British Militia have flown to her support, when threatened with invasion by the common enemy: but Ireland has paid the British Militia for their assistance. And has not Great Britain employed her fleets and armies for the support of her allies in the present war, and even paid the troops of her allies for fighting in their own defence? And is she not bound to give greater assistance to Ireland, a part of the British Empire, to defend her against the common enemy, than to foreign nations her allies? This Writer says, *it would be better for Great Britain, that Ireland were blotted from the list of nations, and sunk in the sea, than that she should remain a diversion of her arms in the present war*. May not the same be said with equal justice of any part of Great Britain itself, if threatened with an attack by the enemy; of Yorkshire, of Scotland, for instance?

instance? Ireland is in fact as much a part of the British European Empire, as either of the countries mentioned, and her subjugation by the enemy would be as injurious to that Empire, and so would her loss, by immersion in the ocean.

The complaints of this Libeller, of a criminal neglect of the natives of Ireland by the English nation, and that the barbarity of these natives is justly to be attributed to this neglect, are utterly unfounded; ever since the commencement of the reign of James the First, as long as the distinction of Native and Colonist, or rather New Settler, remained among the inhabitants of Ireland, the attention of the English Monarchs, and their Ministers in Ireland, was uniformly directed to the encouragement and civilization of the natives; and to the abolition of all distinctions between the inhabitants of the country. Their benevolent intentions have been counteracted only, by the intolerant spirit of Popery, incessantly operating as an effectual barrier against harmony and union, as I have already proved.

This Author's praises of the Romish titular Bishops in Ireland, of *their learning, humanity, and piety*; of all which accomplishments, I presume he means to offer Hufsey, the titular Bishop of Waterford, as a shining example; his advice to them, *to unfurl their Sacred Banners*; his suggestion of the doctrine of *Imprescriptibility*, of which he hints a feeble disapprobation only, according to which Irish Romanists, or, as he calls them, *Natives, have a right to the possession of all the lands of the nation, which no time, no length of possession can alienate*; and his frequent introduction of the eternal principles

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of *revenge* of the Irish Romanists against Irish Protestants; all, all proclaim him an inveterate Irish Romanist; and his folly as well as impudence in attempting to assume the mask of an Englishman.

I shall now close my observations on this anonymous slanderer and his libel, with the sum of his arguments, to induce the inhabitants of Ireland to consent to an Union with Great Britain; from which it will clearly appear, that his real design was directly contrary to his professed one; and was to promote the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, by stimulating the Irish Romanists to a Rebellion; and by sowing the seeds of dissension between the English and Irish Protestants; and thereby depriving the latter of all assistance from Great Britain, if not ensuring its hostility against them.

His argument to the Irish Protestants to induce them to consent to an Union, is as follows: ‘ You, the Irish Protestants, are the basest, most tyrannical, most cowardly, most cruel race of mortals on the earth; you are as weak as you are cowardly: we, the English Protestants, consider you in this light; we detest your crimes; you are murderers and robbers, you cannot exist but by our favour and protection. Give yourselves up directly into our hands without reserve; if you do not, the descendants of those you have murdered and robbed will quickly destroy you: notwithstanding you are so infamous a race, and that we have so thorough a contempt for you, we will confer on you a perfect equality with ourselves; and we, the bravest, the richest, and the most honourable people on the earth, will associate with you on perfect terms

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' of equality. Robbers, murderers, and dastardly
 ' wretches as you are, you shall become our companions
 ' and our friends ; we will treat you exactly as brethren ;
 ' you shall share all our advantages and all our fortunes.
 In short, the means by which he proposes to reconcile
 Irish Protestants to an Union with Great Britain, are,
 in the character of an Englishman, to load them with
 every species of abuse, slander, and calumny, and
 brand them with every crime which can debase humanity.
 Very conciliating means truly !

His arguments to induce Irish Romanists to agree to
 an Union with Great Britain are : ' You, the natives of
 ' Ireland, have been basely and wickedly tyrannized over
 ' by the English nation for six centuries past, as your
 ' confidential agent Mr. Tone has already told you. The
 ' English have robbed you of your lands, they have reduced
 ' you to a state of barbarous slavery : they govern you at
 ' present by a gang of corrupt sub-tyrants, whom they style
 ' a Parliament, *elecled by Englishmen, and composed of Eng-*
 ' *lishmen, to the exclusion of you the ancient occupants of the soil :*
 ' these sub-tyrants are the Representatives of a handful
 ' only of Englishmen, their fellow-tyrants in your coun-
 ' try of Ireland : you are fully able to destroy them, for
 ' they are weak and timid. You are justly entitled to all
 ' the lands now possessed by them, *for no length of time can*
 ' *warrant their retention of them.* You have endured *six*
 ' *centuries of calamity, of fruitless struggles and tenacious op-*
 ' *pression.* Great Britain, employed fully in the present
 ' war with France, is unable to protect her *colony of mur-*
 ' *derers and robbers.* Now is your time for shaking off the
 ' English yoke. You have *revenge* to gratify, and the
 ' *recovery of your property* will be your reward : the de-
 ' struction

'struction of the English invaders will be the certain con-
 'sequence of your attempt to shake off your *chains*. I
 'lately heard a proposal made in the British Parliament ut-
 'terly to extirpate you ! not to leave a *Rohilla* (that is, a
 'Tribe) of you living ! The English are Heretics, with
 'whom it would be impious for you, by the principles of
 'your holy Religion, to associate, or fraternize. Your
 'Bishops are men of the greatest piety, humanity, and
 'learning, particularly the *Right Reverend Father Hufsey*,
 'your Bishop of Waterford : you have all read his pious
 'Pastoral Letter, fully stating *your oppression by a handful*
 'of *Heretics, not a tenth, nay not an hundredth part of you*
 'in number. Unfurl your sacred banners, as your
 'brethren the late suppressed Irish martyrs did ; they
 'marched under sacred green banners, with a white cross
 'and reversed crown floating in the midst : you ought to
 'have all joined in that holy war, though you did not,
 'from an ill-grounded timidity ; consequently the Here-
 'tics were victorious. Yet I advise you to forget your
 'revenge, to abandon all thoughts of *recovering your lands*,
 'and to give yourselves up into the hands of the *English*
 'Heretics by agreeing to an Incorporating Union with
 'Great Britain !

How far such arguments are likely to succeed with
 Irish Romanists in promoting an Union ; and how far
 the Author intended they should succeed, I leave to the
 judgment of the reader.

I shall now proceed, pursuant to my original purpose,
 to make a few short remarks on some pamphlets which
 have been published in England, on the subject of an
 Incorporating Union, as the substance of Speeches made

in both Houses of the British Parliament, by men of great rank, and in high offices in Britain. My remarks shall be confined to such parts of their Speeches, as relate to the two great classes of Irish population, to wit, those of Protestants and Romanists.

Observations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Speech of Lord Minto, in the House of Lords, April 11, 1799.'

I will begin with a pamphlet entitled, '*The Speech of Lord Minto in the House of Lords, April 11, 1799,*' because his Lordship has consumed sixteen pages, beginning at page 66, and ending with page 82, in arguing for the *right*, as he styles it, *of Irish Romanists to political equality with Irish Protestants.* He styles their exclusion from Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State, such as those of Viceroy, of Lord Chancellor, of Judges, and of General in Chief, &c. *the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation;* throughout styling Irish Romanists, *Catholics*, not Romanists, or Roman Catholics, excluding Protestants from all title to *Catholicity*, though Christians: he states himself to be a *warm* friend to the measure of an Union, principally on account of its meliorating the condition; and extinguishing the discontents of a great majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, *by providing for the just claims of the Catholic Irish, by an explicit article of the treaty itself.* And he states a very curious dilemma, entirely founded on the *assumed position, that Irish Romanists have a just right to political equality with Protestants;* which assumption his Lordship, who seems to be an expert logician, must know to be *petitio principii.* The dilemma is thus: 'Protestant ascendancy in Ireland cannot be supported without derogating from *what may appear to be a natural right of the Catholic:*' (in many other places he positively asserts it to be his right.) 'Catholics cannot

' not

‘ not be supported in their claim of equality, without
 ‘ transferring to them that ascendancy, which equality of
 ‘ rights must draw to the larger body ; this must ex-
 ‘ pose the Protestants to danger, who ought to be pro-
 ‘ tected : and Ireland in its present situation will be
 ‘ gored by one or other of the horns of this dilemma.’
 He styles the Irish Protestant ascendancy a ‘ *monopoly* op-
 ‘ posed to *common right*, that is, to the right of Ro-
 ‘ manists to political equality.’ His Lordship, being
 aware of His Majesty’s Coronation Oath, and the Treaty
 of Union between England and Scotland ; of both which
 he was too cautious in direct terms to recommend the
 violation ; expresses himself thus : ‘ I do not see how
 ‘ the *jus tertii*, as it may be called, of England, can
 ‘ affect the relative claims of these two Irish nations
 ‘ (Protestants and Romanists), or of these two parts of
 ‘ the Irish nation ; and therefore I might have thought
 ‘ it difficult to assign a sufficient reason, to preclude His
 ‘ Majesty, as sovereign of Ireland, from concurring
 ‘ with his Irish Parliament, *or even from exerting, in*
 ‘ *every lawful way, his legitimate powers, in promoting*
 ‘ *such measures as might be calculated to place every class*
 ‘ of his Irish subjects on an equal footing as to civil
 ‘ rights, and consolidate these two hostile nations into
 ‘ *one peaceable and united family.*’ All this cautious, cir-
 cumlocutory, wheedling argument is used by his Lord-
 ship, to insinuate, that England has no interest in sup-
 porting the Irish Protestants ; and that the Coronation
 Oath, and the Treaty of Union between England and
 Scotland, ought not to preclude the adoption of measures
 tending to the subversion of the present Protestant estab-
 lishment in Ireland. His Lordship proposes two methods
 of effecting this : one through the medium of the Irish Par-
 liament ;

liament; the other, *through that of the King's prerogative* : and I wish his Lordship had condescended to explain, by what lawful exertion of the King's prerogative, the acts requiring the Oath of Supremacy to be taken, and the Declaration against Popery to be repeated and subscribed, by all Members of both Houses of Parliament, and by all the great officers of the State, can be dispensed with, or how these Acts can be repealed or altered, except by Parliament. The rejection of this Oath and Declaration by Romanists, is the only bar to their being on an exact level with Protestants as to all civil rights: what then can be his Lordship's meaning in insinuating that Romanists may be put on an exact level with Protestants, by His Majesty's exerting in every lawful way his legitimate powers, as contra-distinguished from his concurrence with his Parliament? Does he mean to insinuate that His Majesty possesses a legitimate power to dispense with the provisions of Acts of Parliament? And if he does not, I hope his Lordship will take an occasion of explaining this passage for the satisfaction as well of Irish as of English Protestants.

His Lordship proceeds to argue, ' I cannot admit
' the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another
' part of the same nation, to the extent, and to the
' purpose claimed in Ireland (that is, the exclusion of
' Romanists from seats in Parliament, and from the
' great offices of the State, by the obligation of the Acts
' enjoining the taking of the Oath of Supremacy and
' the repeating and signing the Declaration), as capable of
' assuming any character deserving the denomination
' of right; that which is wrong on one side, cannot,
' intelligibly to me, become a right in the other: wrong
' is

' is not a material of which it appears possible to con-
 ' struct right. The virtues of possession, prescription,
 ' or any other limitation of time, which are supposed to
 ' cure the vices of a bad title, are not at all applicable
 ' to the case of perpetually subsisting, and as it were
 ' renovating wrongs, especially such as affect the poli-
 ' tical rights of great numbers of men ; instead of con-
 ' verting right into wrong, they only improve and for-
 ' tify the title of those who suffer, to shake off the in-
 ' jury on the first opportunity that offers.' His Lord-
 ship then states, ' that the Catholics of Ireland not only
 ' claim a participation in civil franchises enjoyed by
 ' their Protestant countrymen, but they foster claims
 ' on the property of Protestants, the present possession
 ' of which they treat as mere usurpation.' He then
 gives a sting, in the true French taste, against the as-
 piring character of *all Churches*, as he was obliged to
 admit that such was the character of the Romish
 Church. With a good deal of caution he insinuates,
 that titles to lands, or any thing else, by prescription,
 are not the best ; and that all titles of Irish Protestants,
 either to ascendancy in political power, or to property,
 are by prescription. The first he absolutely condemns,
 as continuations of wrong ; with respect to the other,
 the titles to landed property, he only '*hints a flaw, and*
 '*hesitates defect.*'

Notwithstanding all this argument for the justice of the
 claims of Irish Romanists to political equality, and after
 stating, ' that their prospect of obtaining it by the Treaty
 ' of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, is his prin-
 ' cipal reason for approving that measure ; and after dis-
 ' tinguishing the two classes of Irish Protestants and Ro-

‘ manifests by an East Indian term of *different casts* : and
 ‘ stating, that they are inflamed against each other by
 ‘ mutual hatred, whose motives are irreconcilable, its
 ‘ character bitter, malignant, and implacable ; that the
 ‘ sovereign cast of Irishmen (that is, Protestants) claim
 ‘ their sovereignty as of right, and ground it on an old
 ‘ title of *conquest*, confirmed, *as they contend*, by possession,
 ‘ acquiescence, and *prescription* :’ and after drawing all
 this picture of the state of Ireland, and in the middle of
 all his laboured argument of the *right* of Irish Romanists
 to *political equality*, his Lordship makes the following in-
 genuous confession: ‘ I certainly pretend to no credit on
 ‘ such points from *personal knowledge or inquiry*. I should
 ‘ wish, therefore, to qualify any thing that may appear
 ‘ rash or peremptory, in what I hazard on such a subject,
 ‘ by avowing that degree of diffidence in my own views,
 ‘ which may be thought becoming with regard to facts,
 ‘ which though attested, I think, satisfactorily by others,
 ‘ have not fallen under my own observation.’ It is sin-
 cerely to be wished, that his Lordship, confessing his own
 want of knowledge of the subject, had been less rash and
 peremptory, and had not hazarded so much on the state of
 Ireland, and on the subject of the claims of Irish Ro-
 manists to political equality (though, as his Lordship ex-
 presses himself, *he could not help sympathizing with them*, and
 consequently with all the members of Opposition both in
 Great Britain and Ireland ; and with all the Jacobins in
 both kingdoms, who have repeatedly proclaimed a similar
 sympathy), because his Lordship being a great diplomatic
 character, and high in the confidence of the British Go-
 vernment, does no small mischief to that very Government,
 in advancing and openly patronizing principles subversive,
 not only of the Irish Constitution, *but of the British also*, as

I hope to make evident, and that too without any necessity whatsoever for the promulgation of such doctrines ; which, so far from being favourable to an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, tend to render the accomplishment of that great measure more difficult, perhaps impracticable : and it is the more to be lamented, when it is considered, that the measure can be supported by irrefragable arguments of signal public advantage, without resorting to such fallacious and pernicious principles and doctrines.

I have been diligent in my inquiries respecting Lord Minto, as I have not the honour of the slightest personal acquaintance with his Lordship. From the information I have received, I find that he is a Scotch gentleman of family, and before his advancement to the Peerage, he was known by the name and title of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. and had been for a time Viceroy of Corsica : he had contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Edmund Burke, the great Irish apostle of Popery already mentioned. He appears by the pamphlet I am now commenting upon, to be a person of learning and sagacity : his abilities stand confessed by his being intrusted by the British Government with the execution of commissions of the greatest importance, and with the most honourable embassies : his services to his King and Country have raised him to the British Peerage. In this pamphlet he has collected the most powerful arguments, which have been urged, either in Great Britain or Ireland, in favour of an Incorporating Union of the two countries, and disposed them in admirable order : though little is urged in it, which had not been already laid before the public ; yet the arguments are digested in so perspicuous and connected a series, and dis-

posed of with so much judgment, that it may be said to comprize in itself all the merit of all preceding publications on the subject: I think it a very valuable performance. With these ideas of it, I felt great pain on reading the passages I have quoted. The rank and ability of the writer, and the excellent reasoning contained in the other parts of it, rendered a refutation of these exceptionable paragraphs and their doctrines a work of imperious necessity. Such are my only reason, and my only excuse, for entering the lists of argument with so great and so respectable a character as his Lordship, though I am as sincere a friend to the measure of an Incorporating Union as his Lordship.

All his Lordship's arguments in favour of the claims of the Irish Romanists to political equality are founded on this one position, *that they are entitled to that equality by common right*. Common right, in the usual acceptation of the word, means the common law of the land: but I presume his Lordship means it in a more extended sense, and that he means a right founded on the immutable rules of reason and justice. If this position is overturned, his Lordship's whole argument falls with it: it therefore demands examination. The rights of mankind in political societies are twofold, natural and political: the first are born with a man, he becomes entitled to them the moment of his birth; but as man is a social animal, and as the human race cannot subsist but in society, he becomes entitled to them with this limitation, that the enjoyment of them is to be regulated by that society of which he is born a member, whilst he continues one of that society. The society may establish certain rules for its own preservation, and without which it cannot subsist, restraining and

and modifying the full exercise of what are called natural rights, in cases where the full exercise of natural rights would endanger the existence or security of the society; and regulations for the secure enjoyment of natural rights thus modified. To these rules and regulations all members of all political societies must submit; and all the benefits men enjoy under these laws are their political rights. In fact, mankind's political rights, are their natural rights modified, and their enjoyment secured, by the laws of society. Natural rights are immutable; modifications of them by the laws of society are various, in the various societies of mankind on the face of the globe; and hence they are styled political rights as distinguished from natural. The laws of each society have been originally framed on the consent of the majority of the community, either tacit or express: general acquiescence implies tacit consent: actual compact, as is the case in some societies, is express consent. These rules have been altered in societies at times by tyranny and usurpation. In the British Empire, the common law is that system of law which is established by tacit consent for ages: the statute law is that system of law which is established by consent or agreement of the members. In great or even considerable empires or governments, it is utterly impracticable to collect the opinions of all the members of the society taken by the poll, on any public measure: such an attempt would tend to inevitable confusion and dissolution of the society; because the great mass of the people in all States, subsisting by bodily labour, are ignorant, and incapable in general of forming correct opinions on great and momentous political questions. By the British Constitution, generally and deservedly esteemed the very essence of political wisdom, the method of collecting the opinions of the majority of

the nation, for the purpose of enacting new laws, or altering or abrogating the old ones, is partly by the votes of the majority of a certain class of great and distinguished personages eminent for their dignity and property: but chiefly by the votes of the majority of Representatives chosen by the people, and assembled in general Council or Parliament: these Representatives, though they represent the whole body or mass of the people, yet are not elected by the majority of votes of the people of each district reckoned by the poll, but by their property: and one twentieth part of the people at large are not qualified, by their property, to vote at the elections of their Representatives in Parliament either in England or Ireland.

What Lord Minto styles the sovereignty of the Protestants in Ireland over the Irish Romanists consists in this: that Protestants are capable of sitting in Parliament, and of filling about thirty of the great offices of the State, to which the exercise of the supreme Executive Power is intrusted: and the Romanists exclude themselves from these two capacities by rejecting the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, as already mentioned: both which the Protestants take and subscribe on being admitted into Parliament, or into any of these offices. In every other particular there is a perfect equality of political privileges at present between Irish Protestants and Romanists. The Irish Protestants maintain that the aforesaid exclusion of Irish Romanists (which his Lordship is pleased to style Protestant Sovereignty and Monopoly; terms learned in the Schola Burkeiana) had its origin in political right, and in the very first of political rights, to wit, that of the State to preserve its own existence, and independence of all foreign jurisdictions: and whatever ascendancy (styled by his
 Lordship

Lordship Sovereignty) this exclusion has conferred on Irish Protestants, they claim the same, not, as his Lordship very erroneously supposes, on the title of conquest, of acquiescence or prescription ; but on the statute law of the land, enacted both in England and Ireland. And I cannot sufficiently express my amazement at this very extraordinary mistake of his Lordship, a great diplomatic character, and supposed to be perfectly well acquainted with the laws of his country !

The exclusion of Romanists from all public offices in England and Ireland, commenced with the operation of the Statute which enacts the Oath of Supremacy, and which was enacted in England in the first, and in Ireland in the second year of Queen Elizabeth : and all access to such offices in England has been doubly barred, as against Romanists, by the Test and Corporation Acts. (See Appendix, No. 3.) In Ireland these two Acts, there also enacted, have been with great precipitancy, not to say want of political wisdom, repealed in 1793 ; except so far as relates to the great offices of the State already mentioned. The exclusion of Romanists from seats in Parliament, arising from the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, took place in England by the operation of the Statute of the 3^d of Charles the Second, chap. 2 ; and the doors of Parliament were further barred against them in England by the Statute of the 1st of George the First, chap. 13, both which Statutes are yet unrepealed : they were both enacted soon after in Ireland. By these Statutes, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government, it is enacted, that no Member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in the presence of the House, taken the Oaths of

N 4

Supremacy,

Supremacy, Allegiance, and Abjuration; and repeated and subscribed the Declaration against Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, and Sacrifice of the Mass. (See English Statutes, and 1st Blackstone's Commentaries, p. 158, octavo edition.) By the 22d article of the Union of England and Scotland, all Scotch Members are obliged to take the same Oaths, and subscribe the same Declaration: and in the Act ratifying the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland two Acts of the respective Parliaments of the two nations are recited, the one providing for the perpetual establishment and maintenance of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the other for the perpetual establishment and maintenance of the Church of England, in England, Wales, *Ireland*, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: and these two Acts are therein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of that Union. (See Defoe's History of the Union of England and Scotland, from page 557 to 562, and the English Statutes.) How then can his Lordship maintain that the exclusion of Irish Romanists from Parliament, and the aforesaid offices, which he, adopting the phraseology of his Gamaliel, Mr. Edmund Burke, is pleased to style Protestant Sovereignty, Ascendancy, and Monopoly, is a wrong; and its continuance a continuance of wrong? He must mean, that it is a restriction of the natural rights of man, which is not required by that first of political objects, the safety and preservation of the State; or that it is not conformable to the opinions of the majority of the members of the community, and therefore unjust. As to the first, I have already proved, that Romanists, from their religious doctrines, ought not to be admitted to the enjoyment of any portion of the Sovereignty of a Protestant State; and that they should

should be excluded from the Houses of Lords and Commons, both in Great Britain and Ireland, because it would be highly injurious, and perhaps, in Ireland, destructive to the State to admit them; and consequently that it is no wrong to exclude them. If their exclusion is a wrong in Ireland, it must be a wrong in Great Britain; for the principles of natural justice are immutable, and not variable by the circumstance of their being more numerous in Ireland than in Great Britain. What is right or wrong in this particular in the one country, must be right or wrong in the other. Their exclusion in Ireland is more requisite than in Great Britain, on account of their greater numbers in the former country, and their claims to all the landed property in the hands of Protestants, the possession of which, his Lordship states, they consider as *usurpation*: and Dr. Troy, as before mentioned, states, that they consider the Protestant Establishment an *usurpation*. These circumstances render their elevation in Ireland more dangerous than in Great Britain, and their exclusion in the former country more just and reasonable.

If his Lordship thinks the exclusion of Romanists from Parliament and the great offices of the State a wrong, he must think that all the great statesmen in Britain and Ireland, since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were workers of iniquity; and all the Statutes enacted since, respecting Romanists, public wrongs; he must think King James the Second was perfectly justifiable in endeavouring to remedy this wrong; the glorious King William the Third an usurper; and all who assisted in the Revolution of 1688 Rebels. His Lordship declares it to be his warmest wish

wish to establish Irish Romanists in an equality of civil rights with Irish Protestants; King James the Second professed nothing more. He professed similar designs in England. His attempts to carry these designs into execution, both in England and Ireland, cost him his crown, and consigned him and his luckless progeny to perpetual exile.

His Lordship cannot arraign the aforesaid Statutes of injustice in excluding Romanists, on the principle that they are not conformable to the opinion of the majority of the Irish nation: for, waving the argument of the superior number by the poll of the Protestants in Great Britain and Ireland, taken together, over the Romanists, and considering Ireland a distinct and independent nation (which it is not), let his Lordship's principle be examined by the principles of the Constitution: by that constitution, the Representatives of the People are elected by the People, reckoned, not by their numbers by the poll, but by their property: thirty-nine parts out of forty of Irish property are in the hands of Irish Protestants, consequently the constitutional power of election is possessed by the Irish Protestants, though Romanists now enjoy the elective franchise, as well as Protestants: the House of Commons, so elected, together with the Lords and the Monarch, have enacted these Statutes, by the operation of which Romanists are excluded; that is, they were enacted by the true legitimate Sovereign Power of the State. The very capacity of sitting in Parliament and enjoying public offices is a political right, merely arising from the institutions of civil society, and may justly be withheld or abridged by the supreme constitutional power of that society, when it deems

deems the exertion of its authority in such particulars conducive to the well-being of the State. With what propriety or truth can his Lordship then maintain, that the exclusion of Romanists from certain political situations, effected by the operation of Statutes enacted by Parliament, assembled pursuant to the principles of the Constitution, is a wrong, and an unjust invasion of their natural rights? It is a position not to be supported by reason or argument!

I trust I have fairly lopped off the first horn of his Lordship's dilemma, to wit, that exclusion of Irish Romanists cannot be supported, and consequent Protestant ascendancy maintained, without violation of the natural rights of the Irish Romanists, and continuation of the injustice. I have reduced his two-horned bugbear to an unicorn; and I will preserve the remaining horn, to wit, that the exclusion of Irish Romanists cannot be repealed, and their claims acceded to, without detriment to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, to gore and lacerate (to use his own words) the remainder of his Lordship's argument with: nay more, I will sharpen this horn, and prove, that the admission of Irish Romanists into Parliament and the great offices of the State, would, in the event of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland taking place, be subversive of the Constitution of the Empire in general; and that the publication and support of such a project by great Ministers of State are very likely to disincline the real friends of the Constitution in Church and State, as well in Great Britain as Ireland, to the measure of an Union.

However,

However, before I begin to use the horn, it is not improper to take notice, that his Lordship has insinuated that Irish Protestants hold their estates under the titles of Conquest or Prescription. Conquest is in general a title founded on wrong; and the title by Prescription his Lordship endeavours to discredit. I am extremely sorry to be obliged to observe, that his Lordship here manifests much want of knowledge of the real situation and circumstances of Ireland, and that his Gamaliel has led him again into a gross error. If any estates in Ireland can at this day be said to be enjoyed under the title of Conquest, they must be such as were acquired by the first British adventurers in Ireland in the reign of Henry the Second. His acquisition of Ireland cannot properly be called a Conquest; for though he arrived in Ireland at the head of an army, the whole Irish nation, as I before observed, submitted, and swore fealty to him, and chose him for their Monarch, without putting him to the necessity of striking a blow. Of the great estates acquired by his followers, some were gained, not by force, but by lawful conveyance and succession: such was that of Richard de Clare, Earl of Chepstow, surnamed Strongbow, who married the only daughter and child of the King of Leinster, and became in her right entitled to a vast territory in that province, in which he settled a great number of his vassals; and which always, till the reign of Elizabeth, was the most considerable seat of the English Colony in Ireland, and great part of it was called the Pale, or the Territory governed by English Laws. However, whether the first English adventurers gained their estates by the sword, or otherwise, I apprehend to be at this day of little consequence, for there is scarce remaining a single estate in this kingdom

dom which is not held by titles derived from Elizabeth, or her successors, by Patents, Acts of Parliament, or other good and sufficient conveyances. And it might be said, with more reason, that all the great families in England, most of whom yet retain their Norman surnames, and whose ancestors obtained estates in the reign of William the Conqueror, held these estates by Conquest. For the acquisition of England by William preceded the acquisition of Ireland by Henry only by one century; and a much greater proportion of persons in Ireland, possessing landed estates, have old Irish surnames, than persons of the same description in England, who have Saxon, or old British surnames.

The insinuation, that many Irish Protestants derive the titles of their estates from prescription, is equally groundless. After the first acquisition of Ireland by the English Crown, there does not seem to have been any very great influx of English into Ireland for some centuries. The civil wars of York and Lancaster drew out of Ireland most of the great English families which had settled in it, together with their vassals, and most of them perished in that unhappy contest. The greater part of the remainder of the English Colony adopted the barbarous Irish customs, and degenerated into Irish barbarians. After the accession of Elizabeth, the Earl of Desmond, a great and powerful Nobleman in Munster, of English extraction, rebelled against her; she subdued him, and all his vast possessions were forfeited to the Crown: she granted them to a considerable colony of English settlers. The great and formidable Rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone broke out afterwards in her reign: he possessed, by himself or his vassals,
almost

almost the whole province of Ulster. The Queen, after a long, expensive, and destructive war, which desolated the country, completely vanquished him, but died before she could reap the fruits of her victory. Her successor, James the First, employed his whole reign in improving the nation; he divided part of the lands forfeited in this Rebellion, and another which followed close on its heels, among English and Scotch settlers, and his loyal Irish Protestant subjects, and the rest he parcelled out among the native Irish. His son, Charles the First, followed his example; and a great part of the Irish nation, which held their lands by prescription, surrendered them to the Crown, and passed patents for them, conforming to the English law of tenures, either in capite or socage. When Cromwell had reduced the Irish Rebels, he divided the lands forfeited by the Rebellion among the soldiers, adventurers, and loyal Irish Protestants. Such of his grants as still subsist, and a large portion of Ireland is held under them, were confirmed immediately after the Restoration, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The forfeitures of the Rebels in the reign of King William have been also disposed of by patents among the King's loyal subjects. And all these estates, since the original grants of them, have been conveyed over and over again, for valuable considerations, by family settlements, and by purchases, inso-much that there is scarcely one estate in the whole Kingdom of Ireland held by the title of prescription; the original grants of them all can be produced, or are recited in the different conveyances. But if they were held by prescription, as his Lordship erroneously supposes, a possession of two hundred years from the reign of Elizabeth; of one hundred and fifty, at least, from the reigns

reigns of James and Charles; of near an hundred and fifty from the time of Cromwell; and of upwards of one hundred since the last forfeitures in the reign of King William, would constitute a good title to the present possessors by the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, which make sixty years undisturbed possession a good title, and a bar in a writ of right.

As a considerable part of the landed estates in the possession of Irish Protestants consists of lands forfeited to the Crown in the different Rebellions I have mentioned, when his Lordship hints that Irish Protestants derive their titles to their estates from Conquest, he must mean, that the suppression of every Rebellion is a Conquest. The just rights of a conqueror are pretty accurately defined by Mr. Locke, in his Treatise on Government, but the conduct of a conqueror to the vanquished is generally measured by his will and pleasure; and is the exercise of an arbitrary tyranny over their persons and properties: and his Lordship's view, in insinuating that the titles of Irish Protestants to their estates are founded in Conquest, seems to be, to disparage Irish Protestants, as deriving their properties from the exertions of unlawful violence and rapacity; that is, in plain English, that they are the heirs of robbers and plunderers; as has, indeed, been already asserted by the abusive Author of '*Considerations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799.*' I never before heard it insinuated, that the suppression of a Rebellion was a Conquest of the nation: Conquest entirely changes the laws, constitution, and government of a nation; but the suppression of a Rebellion, in part of a nation (and in every Rebellion a part of a nation only is engaged),

gaged), does not change the laws, constitution, and government of a nation: it, on the contrary, establishes them all, and gives them additional security. Are the suppressions of all the various Rebellions in England, since the accession of William the First to the present day, to be considered as Conquests of England? And is the suppression of every Rebellion in Ireland, since the accession of Henry the Second, to be considered as a new Conquest of Ireland? the very supposition is an absurdity. Rebellion is High Treason; its guilt and its punishment are accurately defined by the laws of England and Ireland, and one part of the punishment is the forfeiture of the property of Rebels to the Crown: the Crown disposes of this forfeited property to its loyal subjects, in reward of their services, or for other valuable considerations; and the Grantees of the Crown hold such property by a legal title, not founded on Conquest, but on the known and established laws of the land. But whatever was his Lordship's view in insinuating that the Irish Protestants held their estates by the title of Conquest, and that the Irish Romanists, being unjustly dispossessed, had a right to reclaim them, whether it was to disparage or to intimidate, Irish Protestants, conscious of the justice and lawfulness of their titles, and of their own strength and courage to defend them against all attempts of Irish Romanists, read such insinuations with the most perfect apathy, as they do all his Lordship's laboured doubts respecting the efficacy of a title by prescription; and were it not for the high respect I entertain for his Lordship, I might make use of a harsher expression.

I now

I now arm myself with the remaining horn of his Lordship's dilemma, to wit, *that the admission of Irish Romanists into Parliament, and to the great executive offices of the State, would be very prejudicial to the Irish Protestants, and would much endanger the established Constitution in Ireland.* To render this horn still more formidable, I can furnish it with a very strong and very sharp antler, to wit, *that such admission would, in case of an Union, greatly endanger the British Constitution, and must be attended with an Innovation in it; which, I trust, will be reprobated by His Majesty; by the great Minister, who now with so much glory to himself, and advantage to the Nation, takes the lead in the British Cabinet; and by all the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Great Britain: and that, so far from promoting an Union, the very proposal of so dangerous an innovation, must throw the greatest impediments in the way of that most salutary measure.*

The danger of admitting Irish Romanists into Parliament in Ireland, that is, into a share of the sovereign authority of the State, I have already very fully exposed. The appointment of a Romish Viceroy of Ireland, of a Romish Lord Chancellor, of Romish Judges, of a Romish Commander in Chief of the army, and the admission of Romish Peers and Commoners into Parliament, must all tend to the subversion of the Irish Protestant Establishment, both in Church and State; this is so notorious, that no arguments are required to prove it: it is evident that such appointments, and such admission, would of themselves be a subversion of the present establishment. This horn without the antler is sufficient to lacerate all his Lordship's arguments in the present situation of Great Britain and Ireland.

Let

Let us now suppose that an Incorporating Union of the two countries had taken place, and that they were consolidated into one body. If in such case Romanists were to be admitted into Parliament, and to fill the great offices of the State, all the laws enacted in England against Popery, since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, must be repealed. I will mention some of these Acts particularly, that *the People of England may clearly understand the momentous and dangerous alterations which must be made in the British Constitution*, which has been improving from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, till it has attained its present unrivalled excellence; under which the present generation and their ancestors for two centuries have lived; and which has descended to the People of England during that period, in succession from father to son, as an inheritance; if what Lord Minto styles *the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation* shall be done away, by the adoption of his scheme of conferring equal privileges on them with their fellow-subjects, in case of an Union.

The Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, which enjoins the taking of the Oath of Supremacy by all public officers; the Bill of Rights, the 1st of William and Mary, new-modelling the Oath of Supremacy, and extending the sphere of the operation of the Act of Elizabeth in respect to that Oath, must be repealed. The Acts of the 30th of Charles the Second, chap. 2, and the 1st of George the First, chap. 13, enacting that no Member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in the presence of the House, taken the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, and repeated and subscribed the Declaration, must be repealed. The

Test Act, requiring all officers, civil and military, to take the above Oaths, repeat and subscribe the Declaration, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, must be repealed: the Corporation Act must share the same fate. These two Acts, Blackstone states to be bulwarks of the Constitution, and that they were enacted to secure the established Church against perils from Non-conformists of all denominations, among which he particularly enumerates *Papists*. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv, page 57, octavo edition.) And he states, that the Acts of Charles the Second and George the First, requiring all Members of both Houses of Parliament to take the Oaths, and repeat and subscribe the Declaration, were enacted, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i, page 158, octavo edition.) The articles and provisions of the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland must be altered: that one, among others, which enjoins the taking of the Coronation Oath by His Majesty; and more particularly those parts of the Treaty styled by Blackstone fundamental and essential conditions of the Union. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, 1st vol. pages 92, 93, octavo edition.) I have quoted Blackstone on these points, to show the opinions of that able constitutional lawyer on the parts of the *English* laws relating to Papists; because in his remarks on the *English Popery Code*, he expresses his opinion, that several parts of it, which he enumerates, may be repealed without inconvenience; but the parts I have above mentioned, he thinks essentially necessary to the preservation of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State in *England*, and that they cannot be repealed

consistently with the safety of that establishment in *England*, or with the continuation of the Union of England and Scotland.

It may be here argued, that an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be effected, without all the aforesaid alterations in the laws of England; for stipulations may be inserted in the Treaty of an Union of the two nations, that Irish Romanists, elected in Ireland members of the imperial Parliament, shall sit and vote therein, without taking the Oaths, or subscribing the Declaration above-mentioned; and that they shall be capable of filling public offices in Ireland on the same terms. And it may be urged, in respect to offices, that such stipulations have taken place in the Act of Union of England and Scotland; for Scotchmen are by that Act capable of filling public offices in Scotland, without taking the Oaths prescribed to be taken by public officers in England, and without receiving the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England. On the part of this argument which relates to public offices, I shall only observe, that public officers in Scotland, as I am informed, are obliged to take oaths and engagements full as hostile to Popery, as those enjoined to be taken by public officers in England, *which they were obliged to take in their own country before the Union*: and that no Scotchman can enjoy any office in England without taking the Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament as prescribed in England. But with respect to the capacity of sitting in Parliament, such stipulations can receive no sort of countenance from the conditions of the Union of England and Scotland; for the Scotch Members are not admitted to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain,

Britain, without taking the same Oaths, and repeating and subscribing the same Declaration, as the English Members are obliged to take, repeat, and subscribe. I will therefore proceed to examine the practicability and justice of the insertion of such stipulations in a treaty of Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and their efficacy in removing the present complaints of the Irish Romanists, in case they were inserted.

It is first to be observed, that by the established Constitution of Ireland, since the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, the Romanists are excluded from Parliament by the Oaths, which it is enacted all members shall take, previous to their admission to sit or vote in either House; they are excluded from the great offices of the State by the same means: and that by Lord Minto's scheme, to raise them from their present *degraded and humiliated condition* (as he styles it), the present laws of Ireland enjoining the taking of these Oaths are to be repealed, preparative to an Union of the two countries; or by the treaty of Union itself to be ratified by the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that such scheme, whilst the Parliaments of the two countries remain separate and distinct, would be very dangerous to the Protestant Establishment in Church and State in Ireland, if carried into effect; because, as he reasons, the superior number of Romanists in Ireland, when put on a perfect equality with Protestants in respect to civil privileges, would enable them by degrees to engross the whole power of the State, and overturn the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. Now, supposing the two countries were consolidated into one body politic by an Union, and Romanists put on a perfect equality of civil privileges with Protestants

in Ireland; they would, according to his Lordship's reasoning, in time return all the Irish Members to the House of Commons of the imperial Parliament. It is proposed that Ireland, on an Union, shall have one hundred Representatives in the imperial Commons: if these should be all, or a great part of them, Romanists, it would not be very difficult for them, on many occasions, where a Minister might stand in need of their services, to obtain a domineering influence with respect to all Irish affairs: it appears at present, though they have little political power in Ireland, that they have procured an interest in the British Cabinet, very alarming to every attached friend to the Constitution in Church and State in Ireland: this would be increased a thousand fold, if an Union took place on the terms suggested by Lord Minto: in truth, the Protestant Establishment in Ireland could not survive such an event for many sessions. And I beg of his Lordship, and other great British Statesmen, seriously to consider, whether their proposing schemes of Union, subversive of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, is a likely method of inducing Irish Protestants, in whose hands, for the present, almost the whole political power of the State is lodged, to consent to an Union: and whether the continued intrigues of every British Statesman, for some years past sent into Ireland, to act as the Minister, with the Irish Romanists, for the depression of the Protestant interest in that kingdom, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins, are likely to incline Irish Protestants to commit all their civil and religious rights, and those of their posterity, to the absolute disposal of persons who show no disposition to support and maintain them. Lord Minto admits, that Great Britain is bound to support the Irish Protestants

by every tie of gratitude, for their unalterable attachment to the interests of the British Empire; they desire no support from Great Britain, as against Romanists, the common political enemy of British, as well as Irish Protestants; all Protestants, in the eyes of Irish Romanists, are Englishmen, and *vice versa*: they have but one name for both: they are eternal and implacable enemies of Protestants, from the tenets of their religion: Irish Protestants are able, without any support from Great Britain, to protect themselves from all the force, from all the fury, from all the rancour of Irish Romanists: all they require from British Protestants is, that they will not join in a hollow league with the avowed enemies both of English and Irish Protestants, against Irish Protestants: they have not merited such treatment from British Protestants, they have ever remained faithful to the British Crown, they are now supporting it with their blood and treasure, spilling and lavishing one and the other in the present glorious contest! Give them, then, illustrious British Statesmen, no cause to exclaim, in the language of the Roman poet,

Perierunt tempora longi servitii!

They are ready to coalesce with you, but not on terms which in the end will be found equally detrimental to you and them: they demand, nay entreat no more from you, as the condition of an Incorporating Union, than the preservation of their present Constitution in Church and State; and they deprecate only its subversion.

I shall now make a few observations on the justice, efficacy, and practicability of such a scheme of Union when considered in respect to Great Britain. By this scheme Irish Romanists must be admitted into the imperial Par-

liament; and by his Lordship's reasoning, exclusive of Romish Irish Lords, a great proportion, and in time the whole number of Irish Commoners, to wit, one hundred, which are to be admitted into the imperial Commons, will be Romanists; consequently the above-mentioned English Acts of Charles the Second and George the First must be repealed in favour of Irish Romanists; in fact, they must be entirely repealed, because it would be highly absurd to exclude English and Scotch Romanists, when Irish Romanists are admitted. When thus they have gained admission into the Houses of Lords and Commons in the imperial Parliament, and formed consequently no inconsiderable part of the supreme power of the State, in violation of every principle of the British Constitution since the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth; the British Minister, to secure the support of so powerful a body in Parliament, must deliver into their hands the whole patronage of Ireland. The Protestant Establishment of that nation must be subverted, and all public offices there must be filled with Romanists. If any stipulations shall be made in the treaty of Union, for the security of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland; though such treaty be ratified by the Parliaments of both countries previous to the Union, and by the imperial Parliament after; yet such stipulations cannot subsist for any length of time. No doubt can be entertained, that the imperial Parliament, being the supreme authority of the Empire, will be competent to alter or abrogate the conditions and articles of the Union at its pleasure; and if it should alter or abrogate such articles as relate to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, at the express instance and desire of the Representatives of Ireland in the imperial Parliament, assisted by the British Romish members, who could complain

complain on behalf of Ireland, of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or who could complain with effect? If the Representatives of Scotland in the Parliament of Great Britain should demand an alteration of the articles and conditions of the Union, relating only to Scotland, and the Parliament of Great Britain should comply with such demand, would any complaint be made on behalf of Scotland of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or, if made, would it be followed by any material effect? The maxim of *Volenti non fit injuria* would be the answer to such complaints. When Ireland was by such means converted into a Romish country, would its Representatives in the imperial Parliament, and the Romish British Members, be contented? would their constituents be contented? Certainly not. Scotchmen are capable of filling the highest employments in England, complying with the Test Act; and the Presbyterian doctrines oppose no insurmountable barriers against such compliance; but the Romish do. Many natives of Scotland have risen to the highest stations in England since the Union: the present Lord Chancellor of England, Mr. Secretary Dundas, Admiral Duncan, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Lord Minto himself, with multitudes of others, are present, the late Lord Mansfield and others, past examples, of the great elevation to which the shining abilities of North-Britons have raised them in England. In case of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Irish Protestants being capable of filling high offices in England, the abilities of some of that description might promote them to elevated dignities there. But British and Irish Romanists would be excluded, by the English Test Act, from all public offices in England, and from being officers in any corporations

porations in England by the Corporation Act. How loud then would the exclamations of the Romish Members of both Houses of the imperial Parliament be against the Test and Corporation Acts! They would represent, that though, by an Incorporating Union, Great Britain and Ireland were consolidated into one nation, yet they by these Acts were deprived of the benefits of the British Constitution in four fifths of that consolidated nation by these Acts, and admitted only to a share with all their fellow-subjects in the public employments, emoluments, and political power of the remaining fifth; all their subjects being also admissible to employments in that fifth. They would loudly complain, as they at present do, of this inequality of condition with their fellow-citizens, and insist that they were excluded from the rights of citizenship. If the Minister of the day stood in need of their assistance in Parliament, as he often would, he must listen to such complaints, and listen with favour! If similar complaints of the Romish party are attended to at present, when they are destitute of political power, much more attention must be paid to them, when they shall form a considerable part of the supreme power of the State. At the Minister's beck, how many Lord Mintos would be found ready to join in the cry of the Romish pack! how loud would they bellow in the ears of the imperial Parliament *the degraded and humiliated state of British and Irish Catholics!* It is not impossible, that both the Test and Corporation Acts might be thus cried down: and what Blackstone so justly styles the bulwarks of the Constitution, defending the Established Church from all perils from Non-conformists of all descriptions, and the Constitution from all innovations in Religion and Government, might be completely overthrown and destroyed; and the deluge of Republicanism
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and Superstition, and their certain attendant, Infidelity, let in to overwhelm the British Empire.

But let us suppose, that the sound good sense and spirit of the people of Great Britain should resist and defeat these attempts to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. The certain consequences of an Union with such stipulations in favour of Irish Romanists as I have stated, would be, that both English and Irish Romanists in the imperial Parliament would take every method to manifest their hostility to the Constitution: they would be found the constant supporters of every opposition to the measures of Government in Parliament: they would be the steady allies of the whole Jacobin faction: English and Irish Romanists would by themselves form a powerful party in the imperial Legislature; they would be the patrons and the partisans of every factious project, of every desperate disappointed leader in either House of Parliament; the avowed supporters of every attempt to overturn and destroy the Constitution of their country. And I leave it to British Statesmen, and particularly to that renowned Minister, who has so gloriously and successfully stood forth the protector and supporter of Christianity, of lawful government, of humanity and justice in Europe, to consider, whether such schemes of aggrandizement of Romanists in the British Empire are practicable; and, if practicable, whether they are consistent with the principles of sound policy and justice; and whether any political arrangements whatsoever, short of consigning to them the whole power of the State, will content Romanists; and whether any favours conferred upon them will render them a whit better subjects to a Protestant British Government, than they are at present: whether
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all such arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, do not directly tend to retard, perhaps to defeat, the accomplishment of that great and highly beneficial measure, an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by alarming the Protestants of both countries with fears of the subversion of the present Constitution in Church and State, as the unavoidable consequence of such a measure, on the terms and conditions proposed by his Lordship : whether any necessity ever existed for proposing such terms and conditions : whether they have not their origin in the deceptive, destructive, false, and erroneous doctrines respecting Ireland, of the late Mr. Edmund Burke and his disciples : whether it is either reasonable, just, or expedient, to confer such privileges on Irish Romanists, after so many massacres and rebellions, and particularly immediately after their recent massacre and rebellion, which has been very partially and inadequately punished ; and which merits vengeance, not honourable reward : and finally, whether such arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, if persisted in and further urged, may not be the sources of infinite calamity to both countries.

I will take my leave of Lord Minto and his Speech, by observing, that his Lordship in some parts, particularly in those relating to the animosities resulting from difference of Religion in Ireland, seems to desert his usual caution, and to speak in a strain of dictation to Irish Protestants not very conciliating ; intimating an abject dependance of the Irish nation on Great Britain, pretty much in the style of a very arbitrary master to his slave ; his Lordship's prudence will, I am sure, prevent such errors from creeping into any of his future publications. He also distinguishes Irish Protestants and Romanists by the title of
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different casts ; and states, ‘ that every one knows the firm and immovable basis on which their mutual hatred stands, the irreconcilable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character.’ His Lordship ought to have been somewhat better acquainted with the Irish nation, before he ventured to give the *aforefaid* description of it. His information respecting Ireland seems to be very imperfect in other particulars, as well as in the foregoing. In the great East Indian Peninsula, the natives, who are but slaves to the Moors, are divided into several classes, by Europeans called *casts* ; they are all of the same Religion, that of Brama ; and these casts never intermarry with each other, or intermix in any way, or even eat together. Their Religion teaches them to preserve themselves perfectly separate and distinct the one cast from the other, and so they have continued for ages. No such separation or distinction ever took place in Ireland between Protestants and Romanists : they intermarry with each other, and live together, very frequently in amity and concord, as friends and neighbours. Romanists frequently conform to the Protestant Religion, and there is scarce a family of any note in Ireland which has not relatives of both Religions. Many families of the middle rank are much mixed. Protestant men have Romish wives, and Protestant women Romish husbands ; and very often, in such cases, the progeny, male and female, has been educated in different persuasions ; the males following the Religion of the father, the females that of the mother. Romanists, when acting in a body as a political party, are very different in their conduct from that which they pursue in private life. The unalterable principles of benevolence which the Almighty has implanted in the breasts of mankind, as social creatures,

tures, exerts its natural influence on Irish Romanists, when disengaged from the leading principles of their sect considered as a faction: it guides them to the exercise of the usual offices of neighbours and friends, to those of a different religious persuasion. When they act in a body, and are actuated by the principles of their sect, *such as they are taught in the Lateran Council*, they have often acted with the greatest barbarity, and committed the most inhuman massacres on their Protestant neighbours, relations, and friends; tearing asunder then all the ties of blood, and violating all the duties of friendship; and such effects of their religious principles make them the more dangerous as a body, inasmuch as they extinguish all the social feelings in the breasts of a class of men as amply endowed by Nature with the social qualities and virtues as any other. The Religion of Protestants teaches them no such inhuman doctrines: they therefore, as a political body, entertain no such detestable opinions. They are willing to treat, and have always treated, their Romish fellow-subjects, as a body, with every degree of indulgence and kindness, which is, or can be consistent with their own safety and protection; and in private life they have always been ready to extend to, and receive from Romanists, every kind of social, friendly, and neighbourly offices. His Lordship is somewhat incorrect, if not offensive, in applying the distinction of *different casts* to Irish Protestants and Romanists; thereby evidently meaning to degrade both the one and the other, by levelling them with the enslaved, ignorant, pagan natives of Hindostan. He is also grossly mistaken in representing the hatred which Irish Romanists, as a body and a faction, manifest against their Protestant countrymen, as *mutual*. Irish Protestants entertain no such

such hatred of their Romish fellow-subjects, nor did they ever discover any symptoms of such hatred. They have never adopted any deliberate measure of hostility against their Romish countrymen, which was not demanded by the imperious calls of self-defence and protection; and his Lordship might have spared so unwarranted a reflection, as well as others of the same kind, on Irish Protestants. They are indeed well convinced that Irish Romanists, when they act as a political body, do entertain a hatred of Irish Protestants, the motives of which are of an irreconcilable nature, and its character bitter, malignant, and implacable, because they are taught by the principles of their Religion to entertain it; but the Protestant Religion inculcates no such principles.

I have now so fully exposed the misrepresentations of the Political State of Ireland in the English publications respecting the relative numbers, wealth, and power, and the rights and claims, of Protestants and Romanists; the civil dissensions and Rebellions which have taken place in that nation since the Reformation, and the causes of them; that it is not necessary to advert to other modern English publications on the same subject; because the misrepresentations contained in them are all of the same nature with those I have already exposed. But there is one pamphlet lately published, entitled, *‘ Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Sheffield, Monday, April 22d, 1799, upon the Subject of Union with Ireland;’* one paragraph of which I shall here take notice of; it is to be found in page 43, and is as follows: *‘ The objection to Union on the part of the Protestants of Ireland is unaccountable. They can hardly be said to constitute a nation;*

* nation ; they are an English Colony governing upwards
 * of three millions of Roman Catholics, or at least six
 * times their own number, in a country acquired and
 * maintained by English arms and treasure ; which Co-
 * lony never could have supported itself, and even the
 * last summer would have been overwhelmed, unless
 * protected by the same means, by English power.'

Every person who has read the preceding pages of this tract, will be convinced that every line of this paragraph contains a gross misrepresentation, highly offensive to every Protestant inhabitant of Ireland, and little calculated to promote an Union, the professed object of the Speech. This misrepresentation, I am convinced, is entirely and justly attributable to Burkesism, and misinformation conveyed to the noble Speaker by the followers of that sect ; his well-known character setting him high above all suspicion of any other motive. I have already shown that Irish Protestants cannot be considered as an English Colony, when opposed to Irish Romanists. The distinction of Colonist and Native has been long since worn out ; and if the origin of the race of Irish inhabitants is to be traced by their surnames, the inhabitants of native Irish extraction compose a very large proportion of Irish Protestants, and those of native English extraction a still greater proportion of Irish Romanists. His Lordship is egregiously mistaken in his calculation of the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists. (See Appendix, No. 1.) The Romish Convention calculated the relative numbers as three to one : his Lordship has doubled the proportion ! Property is on the side of the Irish Protestants as thirty-nine to one ; they have therefore, though the smaller number, a right to govern the greater, by the principles of the British Constitution.

situation. Ireland is an acquisition to the British Crown, made by Henry the Second, not by the expenditure of blood and treasure, but by the consent of the natives. If the English Crown has been obliged to employ its arms and expend its treasure in the suppression of subsequent Rebellions, the loyal inhabitants of Ireland have always assisted with their arms and treasure, and the English nation has been fully repaid by the retention of its sister kingdom as part of the British Empire, without which it could scarcely subsist in an independent state, at least in the present situation of Europe. His Lordship is also under a great error, when he states that Ireland is a country maintained by British arms and treasure; and that Irish Protestants, whom he calls a Colony, could never support themselves without British arms and treasure, and that they would have been overwhelmed in the summer of 1798, had they not been protected by English power: for Ireland supports herself by her own arms and treasure, and the Irish Protestants are well able to maintain themselves against any efforts of Irish Romanists by their own arms and treasure; and demonstrated such their ability in the suppression of the Romish Rebellion in the summer of 1798, without any British assistance. Lord Cornwallis came over to Ireland for the purpose of extending pardon to the Irish Rebels, already routed and dispersed, and for defending the country from a foreign invasion; and if the British nation sent assistance to part of the British Empire, invaded or threatened with an invasion by the French, with whom the Empire is at war, was the part assisted under any greater obligation for that assistance than the part which did not stand in need of such assistance? Is not Ireland engaged in the present war with France

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merely because she is a part of the British Empire? And is she not entitled to assistance from the other parts of the Empire, when menaced with an invasion by the common enemy? She is not equal by herself to combat with France, neither are the other parts of the Empire taken separately: they must combat the common enemy with the common force of the whole. It gives me great pain to be obliged thus to animadvert on these unfounded assertions which his Lordship has been deceived into the risking. How very ridiculous would the assertion be, that the Normans settled in England are now French Colonists! The man would be looked upon as insane, who should argue, that these Colonists, compared with the native Saxons and Britons, were only as one to six, and that therefore this Colony should agree to an Incorporating Union with France. Yet such argument would be as good as his Lordship's; for the Normans settled in England only one century earlier than the English settled in Ireland; and the Normans may more justly be said to have settled in England by conquest, than the English in Ireland. William, previous to his settlement in England, defeated the Saxon Monarch in a great and decisive battle. Henry the Second acquired Ireland without a blow. In truth, all such arguments are highly absurd. Different nations inhabiting the same territory for seven hundred years, as the Saxons and Normans; for six hundred years, as the English and Irish; under the same Government and Laws, must be so blended and mixed together, as to become one and the same nation: otherwise the inhabitants of the different districts of the habitable world might be said to be composed of different nations respectively, and the distinctions of different races subsist in the same country for ever. I must here observe,

serve, that publications, purporting to be Speeches spoken in the British Parliament, respecting Irish affairs, as well by the Members in Opposition as by some of His Majesty's Ministers and their friends, have had very bad effects in Ireland, and have been among the most prominent causes of the last Rebellion; holding out strong encouragements to Irish Romanists, and as it were stimulating them to insurrection, and inspiring them with the most flattering hope of success. It is sincerely to be wished, that at least the friends of Government in England were more circumspect and discreet in their assertions and positions respecting the state of Ireland, and somewhat better informed, before they venture to send abroad to the public, crude and ill-digested plans of projected innovations in that kingdom, and rash and ill-founded opinions concerning the political influence and power of the different classes of its inhabitants.

In the pamphlet entitled '*Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered,*' written, as generally reported, by an English Gentleman in a confidential office under the Government in Ireland, the following points, among others, are stated as proposed to be established by an Union: '*An Arrangement for the Roman Catholic Clergy, so as to put an end, if possible, to religious jealousies, and to ensure the attachment of that order of men to the State.—An Arrangement with respect to Tithes.*' And in page 30 of that excellent pamphlet entitled '*The Speech of the Right Honourable William Pitt in the British House of Commons,*' there is a passage which has given no small cause of alarm to Irish Protestants: the causes of complaint of Irish Romanists are therein styled *most*
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goadings and oppressions; and the passage proceeds,—‘ with
 ‘ respect to the grievances of which the lower orders of
 ‘ the Catholics of Ireland complain, I do not at present
 ‘ purpose entering into the detail of the means which
 ‘ may be found to alleviate their distresses, *nor how far*
 ‘ *it is possible to give them relief on the subject of Tithes,*
 ‘ *or put it into their power to make a provision for the Clergy*
 ‘ *of their own Church.*’ Connecting this passage with
 the two points suggested by the above-mentioned pam-
 phlet, it would seem that the British Ministry had come
 to a resolution to give a national support to the Romish
 Irish Clergy, and that this support is to be extracted
 from that of the Parochial Protestant Clergy of Ireland,
 to wit, *the Tithes*, by assigning a portion of them to the
 Romish Clergy. I have already shown, that no part of
 the Tithes is really and *bonâ fide* paid out of the property
 of the Peasantry, but out of that of their Landlords;
 and that forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed estates
 belong to Protestants, and consequently that forty-nine
 parts out of fifty of the Tithes are really paid out of the
 property of Protestants. I have shown, that the Irish
 Protestant Clergy are not paid by the Romish Peasantry
 in general, more than one fifth part of the real value of
 the Tithes, though an abatement is made out of the rents
 of their farms nearly equal to the real value of them;
 so that the Peasantry really gain, instead of losing, by
 the lands being subject to Tithes. Is it therefore consist-
 ent with justice, leaving civil policy out of the question,
 to compel Irish Protestant Landlords to support Romish
 Priests for instructing their Tenantry in principles hostile,
 not only to the State, but to their personal safety indi-
 vidually? And is it reasonable that such support should
 be subtracted from the subsistence of the Protestant Pa-
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rochial Clergy, already sufficiently scanty? It must be observed here, that the Romish Parish Priests have in general a comfortable subsistence: they can afford to live as well as the great majority of the beneficed Protestant Clergy of Ireland. I have already shown the poor provision which is made for them; and the Curates of the established Church are in a worse situation, in point of subsistence, than the great majority of Romish Priests; nor is there at present any great prospect of materially bettering their condition; the narrow circumstances and scanty provision of the majority of the beneficed Clergy rendering any considerable increase of the stipends of Curates in general impracticable. The Protestant Clergy are mostly married men, and have families to support: the Romish Priests are bound to celibacy. I have already shown, that Romish Priests, from certain doctrines and ceremonies of their Religion, have ways and means of extracting money from those of their persuasion, which the Protestant Clergy have not. The former, throughout Europe, are complete adepts in the science of religious alchemy. A Romish Priest can procure a subsistence from a congregation of Romanists, when a Protestant Clergyman, with a congregation of Protestants equally numerous and wealthy, if bereft of Tithes, would starve. It is further to be considered, that the disaffection of the Romish Clergy, as well as Laity, arises from the principles of their Religion; and that it admits of no other cure than the change of these principles. Were the Romish Clergy in possession of the whole revenues of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland, it would not render them a whit less hostile to the Protestant Government. No argument for conferring on them a provision from the State can be deduced from the sup-

position, *that the attachment of that order of men would be thereby ensured to the State.* Their hostility would in such case remain unchanged : their ability to exercise it more effectually would be increased. The Gentleman who has proposed this expedient, has, if I am rightly informed, documents in his possession sufficient to demonstrate that the Romish Priests throughout the kingdom were very active agents in the late Rebellion : many of them appeared openly in arms, and were generally the most blood-thirsty of the Insurgents. It is not a little surprising to observe, that a scheme for conferring public rewards and establishments on vanquished, yet irreclaimable Rebels, who so recently imbrued their hands in the blood of their loyal fellow-subjects, at the expense, and extracted from the pockets, of the surviving sufferers, should be proposed as one of the conditions of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland ! And it is to be hoped that such scheme will be finally reprobated by the magnanimous British Minister, and by every Protestant in Great Britain and Ireland ; and that no new arrangements respecting Tithes will be introduced in Ireland, except such as shall be adopted in England ; and that the established Clergy of both kingdoms may be kept on the same footing. That great Minister, who may with propriety be styled the Atlas of Europe, is so fully engaged in business of the greatest moment to the Christian world, that he has not always sufficient leisure to examine minutely all the circumstances which must be considered in the progress of a Treaty of Union. His great and comprehensive mind entertains the general plan on an enlarged scale of public utility ; but he will not disdain to receive information from inferior understandings on points of moment, relating to the rights of considerable

considerable bodies of men, whose agency materially contributes to the existence of society, and whose security must be provided for in the treaty,—rights on which he may have yet cast but a transient glance, as a man surveying a region from a high mountain, views, with but little attention, inferior eminences.

I cannot help expressing my regret, that the spirit of Burkism, which has notoriously possessed some men of great power in England, seems to have made its way to the British Minister, so as to convey to him some very false information respecting Irish affairs. His styling the causes of complaint of Irish Romanists *most goading and oppressive*, convinces me that some impressions have been made upon him, not at all favourable to the true interests, not only of Irish, but of English Protestants. I cannot comprehend what *goading or oppressive cause of complaint* Irish Romanists labour under. They are on an exact level with Irish Protestants in the equal enjoyment of all civil privileges, except the capacity of sitting in Parliament and filling a few public offices, in whose department is lodged the Supreme Executive Power of the State. And how are they incapacitated? By their refusal to take the oaths and engagements for the security of the State, taken by all His Majesty's subjects who sit in Parliament or fill such offices. This incapacity is the only cause of complaint of Irish Romanists; and English Romanists have the very same cause of complaint. Is this a cause of complaint *most goading and oppressive*? Are the provisions of the English Act of the first of Elizabeth, of the Bill of Rights, the 1st of William and Mary, of the Test and Corporation Acts, of the 30th of Charles the Second, of the 1st of George the

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First,

First, of the Act ratifying the Articles of Union of England and Scotland, of all the similar Acts in Ireland, all already mentioned, goading and oppressive? I am convinced Mr. Pitt never intended to throw such a reflection, such a censure, on these Acts, allowed by all our ablest writers, and by all who are not Romanists or Jacobins, to be the bulwarks of the Constitution. I confess myself utterly unable to guess the meaning of the passage I have quoted, and would acknowledge great obligations to any person who would be kind enough to explain it to me.

I think this no improper place to give a short description, for the information of English Protestants, of the *magnificent seminary for the exclusive education of Romish Priests*, lately founded and established in Ireland *by the sole influence of the English Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, always the Irish Prime Minister.*

In the session of the Irish Parliament of the year 1795, a Bill was introduced by the Secretary into the House of Commons, entitled, ‘An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion.’ This Act empowered certain trustees, therein named, to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy, for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and to acquire lands exempt from forfeiture by mortmain, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds: and a clause was introduced at the end of it, for giving these trustees the sum of eight thousand pounds, out of the public money, as an aid to the undertaking. This Bill passed through the House, and was enacted into a law,

law, without opposition, and with little notice or discussion. The Secretary represented, that it was more the interest of the State to permit Romanists to found a seminary for the education of their youth at home, than, by refusing such permission, to incline them to send them abroad to foreign Romish seminaries; and that it was becoming the liberality of the nation to give them some aid towards the institution. These representations were plausible, and no Member of either House thought it a matter of sufficient importance to warrant an opposition, supposing the Romanists were to complete the business at their own costs; and that Parliament would hear no more of it. Mr. Hussey, already mentioned, a Romish Priest educated in Spain, and imported into Ireland during the short Lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, was, by the influence of the Secretary, appointed President of the Seminary: this man has been since appointed Bishop of Waterford, as he asserts, by the Pope, and has made himself very remarkable in Ireland, by the publication of a most inflammatory seditious pamphlet, under the title of a Pastoral Letter. The projectors of this scheme of a Romish Seminary, however, were determined not to let the Irish Parliament off on such cheap terms: the *English Secretary*, though a very honourable worthy man, seemed in every particular to be a staunch Burkiſt, or at least to be under the dominion of that sect of politicians; and, being the ostensible founder of the Seminary, he resolved it should not be left for its support to the casual benevolence of Irish Romanists, for whose use it was founded; he procured the payment to the trustees of large sums of money out of the public purse, amounting in the whole to near forty thousand pounds.

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In every subsequent session, a regular charge of eight thousand pounds was made to Parliament for its annual support. The magnitude of this sum, for such a purpose, startled some of the Members of both Houses, and regular accounts and items of the establishment and expenditure were called for: and it appeared in the session of 1798, that not one penny had ever been received by the trustees, from any Romanist as a donation: that the establishment was for the exclusive education of two hundred students in Divinity only, as a source to furnish a perpetual supply of *two thousand Romish Priests to the Kingdom*: that each of these students was to be entertained in the Seminary for four years, and then priested, and sent abroad as an officiating Clergyman: that the annual sum of eight thousand pounds was required for the maintenance of them and their teachers; that is, these two hundred students were to be educated at an annual expense of forty pounds per head to the nation: that none of the Romish laity were to be admitted as students into this Seminary; which is neither more nor less than a most magnificent Romish Monastery, erected, and to be supported, by the Irish Protestant Parliament, within eleven miles of the city of Dublin, for the *sapient* purpose of training a perpetual body of two thousand missionaries to be dispersed through the nation, to propagate systematic doctrinal disaffection to the established Government in Church and State. Many Members of both Houses expressed their dislike of this institution; they did not fail to state to the Minister, that Parliament had been led into an acquiescence with the measure in its infancy, by great cunning and address; that the Bill, under the shade of which this noxious and unconstitutional weed had sprung up, did not

not warrant so dangerous an innovation ; that it only empowered Irish Romanists to found a Seminary at their own expence, for the education of their youth in general ; yet this was a Seminary founded, and to be supported, at the expence of the nation, for the exclusive education of Romish Priests : that it was evident the Romish Laity did not desire nor want such a Seminary, for they never had subscribed a shilling to its support ; and the University of Dublin had been opened to them for the education of their youth, by the Bill of 1793, in their favour. The English Secretary argued for the expediency of the institution, principally, almost entirely, *on the necessity, as he alledged, of a supply of Romish Priests for the nation* : he stated, that the Seminaries for the education of the Romish Priests in France and Flanders, had been destroyed by the Jacobins ; that Romish Priests required an education different from that of their Laity ; and that therefore this Seminary was properly appropriated to the exclusive education of Romish Priests. Many Members of the House could not comprehend the force of this argument : they could not understand how the destruction of Seminaries for the education of Romish Priests in Flanders or France, made it imperative on the State to provide for the education of a set of men, in principles of Religion, not only different from that of the State, but hostile to it ; and for the purpose of diffusing it. They conceived the destruction of such Seminaries to be advantageous to the State ; the establishment of similar ones in their own country, for the same purpose, highly pernicious. They could not comprehend the public utility of educating Romish youth, destined for the Ministry, in different schools from the lay youth of that persuasion : they knew it to

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be an old policy in the Court of Rome, to separate the Clergy from the Laity, in all concerns relating to private life, as much as possible; that it might attach the Clergy in all countries to its own particular interest: but they could not comprehend the necessity of their supporting such a political system. The Minister was very hard pushed in the year 1798, in carrying the grant of eight thousand pounds to his Monastery through the House; many of his most attached friends deserted, and left the House during the debate; he was obliged to send out his emissaries to rally his scattered troops; and he carried it at last by a reluctant majority in a very thin House, few more than forty Members being present. In the last session of the Irish Parliament, the new Minister introduced a Bill in the House of Commons, for a grant of a something less sum than eight thousand pounds to this Monastery; it passed the House, and went up to the Lords, where it was thrown out. It appeared on this occasion, that sixty-nine students only, instead of two hundred, were maintained in the house, notwithstanding the charge for the support of the full number was but little diminished. It was currently reported, and very generally believed, that about thirty-six Romish students from this Monastery, had, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, joined the Insurgents, and fought at Kilcock and other places against the King's troops. Certain it is, that sixteen or seventeen have been expelled from it on account of the Rebellion; but the Governors waited with *becoming prudence*, till the Rebellion was suppressed, before they executed this act of wholesome severity. Some of these rebellious students had been slain in action, and others had fled to escape punishment. Previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion,

bellion, a visitation had been held in Trinity College, Dublin, and seventeen students, all Romanists, except three or four reputed Protestants, to the best of my recollection, had been expelled by the Visitors; it being proved, that they had been seduced into that abominable traitorous association, called the Society of United Irishmen: one of the reputed Protestants was a brother of Mr. Emmet, a Member of the Irish Directory, now imprisoned at Fort George in Scotland. From what appeared before the Visitors, it was pretty evident, that Romanists had resorted to that College, particularly the sons of a leading Romish democrat, heretofore a very active Member of the Romish Convention in Dublin, for the sole purpose of diffusing the poison, and propagating the doctrines, of the United Irishmen through the College; and that the contagion was stopped in time, by the spirit and exertions of the Protestant students, through whose intervention the Visitors were called on for the exertion of their authority, to purge the College of such pestilent corruptions. When the new Minister found his Bill, for the grant of so large a sum of money to the Romish Seminary, was rejected by the House of Lords, he attempted to introduce another Bill for the same purpose, into the House of Commons; but this was rejected, conformably to the established usage of the House, which forbids the introduction of a new Bill, for the same purpose with a rejected one, in the same session. The new Minister, on the introduction of his second Bill, thought fit to advert to the visitation which had been held eight months before in the College of Dublin; and extolling, very justly, the conduct of one of the Visitors (without condescending to take the smallest notice of the conduct of the other, who had in every parti-

cular concurred with his colleague), he took occasion to acquaint the House, that the College of Dublin had been infected with the poison of treason; without any reason, visible to the generality of the Members, for the introduction of the visitation or the infection of the College of Dublin into his speech; with any part of which they had no apparent connexion: he also pathetically lamented the miscarriage of his Bill in the House of Lords; and particularly stated, *that Government would not let so useful an institution, as that of the Romish Monastery, fall to decay, for want of sufficient support.* I perfectly understood the Irish Minister's reason for introducing into his speech the visitation of the College of Dublin, and its infection: he feared the objections which might be made to the Romish Monastery, on the score of treason, and determined to obviate them, by stating that the Protestant College of Dublin had also been infected. But he omitted to state, that almost all the students expelled from the College of Dublin were Romanists, or had been shortly before so; and that the infection had been introduced by them: that the College of Dublin had near seven hundred students, seventeen only of whom were expelled, and that they were dragged to the visitatorial tribunal by the Protestant students: that the great mass of the students of Trinity College, Dublin, were eminently loyal: and that the Romish Monastery, whose students were secluded from the world, and therefore less liable to external infection, had but sixty-nine students, seventeen of whom were expelled for actual Rebellion, exclusive of those who were killed in action, or fled from the gallows. I never could discover the utility of the institution, as stated by the Minister; nor do I sufficiently understand, how Government can
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apply any part of the public treasure to its support, not only without the concurrence of Parliament, but contrary to its decision, by the rejection of the Bill for that purpose: I thought the Treasury was better guarded, than to admit of such an arbitrary disposition of any part of its contents. The annual income for the support of the University of Dublin does not amount to eight thousand pounds. A large part of this arises from private donations, the remainder from grants of the Crown of its own estates, and no part of it from Parliamentary grants of sums to be raised by taxes assessed on the subject. The monstrous provision required for the education and subsistence of two hundred Romish students, all paupers, will be more clearly understood, when I compare it with that which is provided for poor scholars in Trinity College, Dublin, most of whom are destined to the Protestant Ministry in Ireland. There are thirty sizers in the College of Dublin; these poor gentlemen have no provision whatsoever from the College, save their dinners, of the broken meat from the table of the fellows: they are obliged to provide their own chambers: there are seventy-two scholars of the house, thirty of whom enjoy what are called Natives' Places; the Natives have each a salary of twenty pounds per annum, and their dinners: the remaining forty-two scholars have four pounds per annum, and their dinners: they are both obliged to provide their own chambers. A scholarship is not attainable till the student is of two or three years standing, a Native's place not until he is of four: and both expire when the student attains the standing of a Master of Arts. The Romish poor scholars in the Monastery are magnificently lodged *gratis*, and maintained at a great expense in a

most plentiful manner: there is a provision for two hundred. How different are the establishments for the education of the Protestant and Romish Clergy in Ireland! And how infinitely superior is that of the latter class! This is one, and a very glaring effect of the spirit of Burkism, diffused among our rulers both in Great Britain and Ireland. There is no such magnificent foundation, in any College of the two famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for the education and subsistence of poor, or any students, as is made in this Romish Monastery, for the education and subsistence of these embryos of Romish Priests, destined for the propagation of doctrinal principles through the realm, subversive of the Constitution in Church and State!

I am now come to the last observation I shall make on the melancholy effects of the spirit of Burkism in the British Councils: I should indeed have been willing to omit it, from my respect to the great Personage, whose conduct I must necessarily advert to; but the transaction I am about to state, has become so public, and is of itself of so extraordinary a nature, so demonstrative of the deceptions practised in England by Mr. Burke's disciples, and the misinformation respecting the state of Ireland, which they find means to convey to great Ministers of State, and obtain credit for; that it cannot be omitted in a Tract, written with a view of opening the eyes of the British nation, and exposing to it the dangerous arts of the professors of Burkism, and the deplorable effects they are capable of producing.

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The county of Wexford, in which the late Rebellion burst out, suddenly and unexpectedly, with astonishing rapidity and fury, lies on the sea-coast opposite to Pembrokeshire in South Wales; it is almost entirely comprised in the diocese of Ferns. The Rebels in two days made themselves masters of almost the whole county, and particularly of the inland parts. I have already stated part of the barbarous massacres they committed on the Protestant inhabitants of that county in cold blood; and particularly their slaughter of all the Protestant Clergy who fell into their hands. At the first explosion, a few Protestant Clergymen, and other Protestant inhabitants, living near the sea-coast, finding their retreat into the country cut off, and hearing of the indiscriminate murder of all Protestants by the Rebels, hopeless of mercy, fled to the coast, threw themselves into the first boats they met with, almost all small yawls and skiffs, undecked, and furnished only with oars, and committed themselves to the waves of a very boisterous sea, to escape from their merciless pursuers. The Almighty God preserved the lives of these persecuted wanderers; they crossed the Channel safely, and landed in Pembrokeshire, with no other sustenance than what was contained in their pockets; and no clothes, but what they wore on their persons; and made their way to the town of Haverford West, destitute of all means of subsistence. Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Abbey, on the sea-coast of the county of Wexford, the second son of a respectable family in the county, and nephew to Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who acted in the capacity of Commissary General to the Rebel army, having a stout vessel of his own, put to sea on the breaking out of the Rebellion, and landed in Pembroke-

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shire, together with one Thomas M'Cord or M'Leard, a clerk whom he employed in a flour-mill, and they both repaired to the town of Haverford West. It appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, that Mr. Colclough and his clerk were suspected to have been very active in promoting the Rebellion. (See Appendix to that Report, No. 35.) However, whether the suspicion was just or not, neither the one nor the other chose to join the Insurgents; for they quitted the country on the commencement of the Rebellion. Mr. Colclough was at the head of his family interest (his eldest brother being absent on the Continent), which was very considerable, and gave him a great influence among the lower orders in the county, particularly the Romish peasantry; and he might have been of great service in curbing the Rebellion, had he remained in the country, and been willing to exert himself in that respect: and he could have remained in the country with greater safety than other gentlemen, as well on account of his family influence, as that of his uncle, a Rebel General, and a man of great property. The Magistracy and inhabitants of Haverford West received the unfortunate fugitives with great charity and hospitality: they made subscriptions for their relief and support until they could procure supplies for their subsistence from Ireland. Mess. Jordan and Bowen, Magistrates of Haverford West, wrote an account of the arrival of these sufferers in their town, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, and probably solicited relief for them: to this application of these Magistrates, his Grace was pleased to return the following answer: which I here insert,

insert, as it was published in the Dublin Journal, and several other Newspapers. It bears date the 22d of June 1798:

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I have received your letter on the subject of the late influx of persons in your county from Ireland, and am extremely sorry to observe that there are so many *young Clergymen and able-bodied men* among them. The conduct of such persons in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the present, is very much to be censured; and I desire that you will use your best endeavours to impress them with a due sense of the dangerous tendency of such an example, and of the dishonourable and disgraceful imputations to which it obviously exposes themselves: and at the same time that you will make known to the *Clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their respective diocesans*. With respect to *Mr. Colclough, and Mr. M^cCord*, I desire that they may have full liberty, either to go to Ireland, or to stay in the country; and that all persons for whom they will answer, as well as all the infirm men, women, and children, may be admitted to the same indulgence.

‘ I am, Gentlemen,

‘ Your most obedient humble servant,

‘ *Whitehall, June 22d, 1798.* PORTLAND.

‘ *To Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverford West.*’

The county and the town of Wexford were rescued from the Rebels, about the time of the date of the Duke’s letter. They were chased from them with considerable

slaughter;

slaughter : the Protestant Gentlemen of the county were summoned to a general meeting in the town of Wexford on the 7th of July 1798, by General Lake. A copy of the Duke's letter was laid before them ; they were all struck with amazement : and they determined unanimously to send a letter to the Duke on the subject, of which the following is a copy : it was signed by the High Sheriff of the county :

‘ The Committee of Gentlemen of the county of
 ‘ Wexford, appointed by General Lake, having read a
 ‘ copy of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland
 ‘ to Messrs. Bowen and Jordan, Magistrates in the town
 ‘ of Haverford West, South Wales, dated 22d June, ult.
 ‘ and which appears to have been in answer to a letter
 ‘ received by his Grace from those Gentlemen, cannot
 ‘ avoid testifying their hearty sorrow at the censure thrown
 ‘ upon the Clergy of their diocese in said letter, and their
 ‘ indignation at the gross misrepresentation which must
 ‘ have occasioned it. They are unanimous in a high
 ‘ opinion of the loyalty, patriotism, and proper conduct
 ‘ of the Clergy, and strongly feel the necessity of their
 ‘ flight and absence during the continuance of the Rebel-
 ‘ lion which so unhappily raged in this county ; as, had
 ‘ they not effected their escape, they have every reason to
 ‘ conclude that they would have shared a similar fate with
 ‘ those unhappy few of that body, who early fell into the
 ‘ hands of the Insurgents, and were afterwards massacred
 ‘ in cold blood.

‘ They lament, that men of such unblemished cha-
 ‘ racter and conduct, should, from the secret representa-
 ‘ tions of persons no way qualified, be proscribed that
 ‘ protection

‘ protection and asylum so liberally bestowed on the per-
‘ sons of *Mr. John Colclough* and *Thomas M^cCord*, men
‘ who were, and might have remained in perfect security
‘ in His Majesty’s fort at Duncannon, and whose cha-
‘ racters are by no means free from imputation in this
‘ country, and on whom they are sorry to find such favour
‘ lavished by the *English Cabinet*, as they are certain no
‘ favourable account of their conduct could be made to
‘ Government save by themselves.

‘ EDWARD PERCIVALL,

‘ Sheriff, and Chairman of the Committee.

‘ *Wexford, July 7th, 1798.*

‘ *To his Grace the Duke of Portland, Whitehall.*’

To this letter, though written in the names of a great number of the most respectable Gentlemen in the county, and signed by the High Sheriff, his Grace, as I am informed, never condescended to return any answer.

The following paragraph was inserted in the Waterford Newspaper of July the 10th, 1798 :

‘ Yesterday *Mr. John Colclough* of Tintern Castle,
‘ county of *Wexford*, was brought here from *Milford*, in
‘ custody of two King’s messengers ; he was escorted by
‘ a party of the Union cavalry to *Thomas Town* on his
‘ way to *Dublin*. *Mr. M^cCord*, who was implicated in
‘ the charge for which the former was apprehended, had
‘ made off, but it is said that there was no probability of
‘ his avoiding the vigilance of his pursuers. *These are*
‘ *the two Gentlemen who were spoken so favourably of, in a*
‘ letter

‘ letter from the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Jordan and
 ‘ Bowen at Haverford West.

‘ CLERICUS WEXFORDIENSIS.’

His Grace the Duke of Portland is the chief of the family of Bentinck in England, which is originally Dutch; his Grace’s ancestor was the great favourite of King William the Third, our glorious deliverer from Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power: he accompanied that great Prince to England, and received from him most bountiful rewards for his services, and most lavish marks of his favour. His Grace owes all his honours, all his great estates, to the Revolution of 1688; he enjoys, and holds them, if I may so say, by a Protestant tenure. His Grace is universally esteemed a Nobleman of great benevolence, and amply endowed with the social virtues. At the time he wrote this letter to the Magistrates of Haverford West, he was, as he now is, His Majesty’s principal Secretary of State for the Home Department; and consequently ought to have been well informed on points relating to the internal state, as well of Ireland, as of Great Britain. To what cause then can the writing of such a letter by his Grace, so unmeritedly reflecting on the conduct of Protestant Clergymen, be attributed? *Protestant Clergymen* in the most distressed situation that men could be reduced to! obliged to beg from strangers a morsel of bread, and a spot to lay their wearied limbs in! a letter proscribing all relief to *Protestant Clergymen*, obliged to fly, naked and destitute, from their homes, in open boats across the sea, and to brave all the perils of the deep, to escape from the ruthless daggers of infuriate Romish assassins; that relief which was so liberally and charitably afforded to *French Romish Priests* in similar circumstances! a letter enjoining their
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Protestant fellow-subjects to spurn *Protestant Clergymen* flying from massacre, and imploring protection, with contempt and reprobation from their doors! The cause is to be found in the indefatigable exertions of the disciples of the late Mr. Edmund Burke, and of himself whilst living, in infusing the poison of his Romish principles into the minds of his Grace, and of other great men in England: misrepresenting, traducing, and vilifying with unwearied and unceasing application, the whole Protestant system in Ireland. How powerful must the influence of Burkism be, when it could load the mild and benevolent disposition of his Grace with so uncharitable a bias! I have been for fifteen years last past Vicar General of the diocese of Ferns; I have therefore an opportunity of being well acquainted with the Clergy of it; and I never yet knew a set of men more orthodox, more pious, more charitable, more esteemed by their Protestant parishioners, and, as was generally supposed, by their Romish parishioners too, till the late Rebellion set fire to the mine of their irreclaimable hostility to what they are taught to repute Heresy. The Wexford Clergy were almost all resident in their respective parishes, and were regular in the discharge of their duty. But my testimony of their irreproachable and meritorious conduct is of very little consequence, when weighed with that of the great body of the Protestant Gentlemen of the county, their parishioners, and their attached friends, from a due sense and experience of their merits. His Grace's unwarrantable reflections on the conduct of the poor, distressed, despoiled, and exiled Protestant Clergy of Wexford in his letter, are not more wonderful, than his favourable recommendation of Messrs. Colclough and M^r Cord to the Magistrates of Haverford West. Surely if the conduct of

the Clergy, in flying from their country in a season of Rebellion, was reprehensible; that of these two personages, particularly of the first, in abandoning their country at so critical a period, deserved infinitely more the censure of his Grace. They were both young men able to fight in defence of their lives and properties; and Mr. Colclough could have been of great service in extinguishing the flames of Rebellion in a very considerable part of the county of Wexford, had he been inclined to exert himself for that purpose; and they could both have remained at home with much less hazard to their persons or properties, than the Protestant Clergy. His Grace's favour to these two men must have arisen from the same source with his reprobation of the conduct of the Wexford Clergy. And I do presume most humbly to suggest to his Grace, the justice and propriety of reviewing his own conduct on this occasion; and examining into the sources of that misinformation, which led his Grace to adopt a proceeding so opposite to the general operations of his Grace's humanity, so very distressing to the innocent and oppressed objects of his Grace's censure, and so grating to the feelings of every loyal Protestant subject of the British Empire.

I will conclude with expressing a wish, that the influence of *Burkism* may receive an effectual and timely check, as well in Great Britain as in Ireland: and that all disgraceful and pitiful intrigues with an Irish Romish faction, in itself utterly inefficient, either for the promotion or obstruction of an Incorporating Union of the two nations, and highly offensive to the loyal Protestant subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, may be speedily and for ever abandoned: and that the patronage by British

Statesmen

Statesmen of such mischievous, desperate projects as Lord Minto's, which, if at all practicable, would be subversive of the Constitution in Church and State, in both countries, may not be made a powerful objection to that most effective of all measures, which can be ever proposed for the aggrandizement of the British Empire, and the mutual benefit of both countries—an INCORPORATING UNION.

PATRICK DUIGENAN.

Dublin, September 20th, 1799.

P. S. My original design was, to present to the British Ministry, and to the English nation in general, a fair and just picture of the Present Political State of Ireland; which seems to have, for some time past, been exposed to their view in very false and deceptive colours. I conceived that such a performance might be of use in the arrangement of measures, which must precede and introduce an Incorporating Union of the two nations. I am a man attached to no party, unless my steady adherence to the principles of the Constitution of the British Empire in Church and State, be considered as attachment to a party. I am neither placed nor pensioned, but I am a loyal Protestant subject of His Majesty. I have explicitly expressed my *opinion* respecting an Incorporating Union, though I have offered no *arguments* on the question, as it has been already fully canvassed in many able publications both in England and Ireland; amongst which, I particularly recommend to the perusal of such as are desirous of good information on the subject; two pamphlets: the one containing

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY surveyed the whole kingdom of Ireland with amazing accuracy (as may be seen by his Map preserved in the Surveyor-general's office), shortly before the Restoration in 1660, by order of the then Irish Government. In his 'Political Anatomy' he states the whole population of Ireland in 1672, sixteen years antecedent to the commencement of the Revolution war, to amount to one million one hundred thousand.

Dean Swift, in his second Drapier's Letter, published in 1724, states, that the inhabitants of Ireland, by the largest computation, then amounted to one million and a half only.

In 1732, an enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland was made by order of Government, and they were found to be under two millions.

Mr. Bushe, a Member of the Irish House of Commons, has given an account of the number of houses in Ireland,
calculated

calculated from the hearth-money books in 1791; with other documents for enumerating the inhabitants of Ireland.

Mr. Chalmers, from the documents furnished by Mr. Bushe, calculates the number of inhabitants of Ireland in 1791 to amount to four millions two hundred thousand; and from thence deduces, that they have been nearly quadrupled in the course of one hundred years since the Revolution. (See 'Chalmers's Estimate,' page 222, 223.)

With this last calculation I cannot agree, for the following reasons:

1st. Mr. Chalmers, who has taken great pains to ascertain the population of England and Wales, computes that population at the time of the Revolution to have amounted to nearly seven millions (Estimate, page 58); and the population in the year 1794 to amount to nearly eight millions and a half (Estimate, page 220): and consequently, that England and Wales have increased in population only one million and a half in one hundred years. In his quotation from Mr. Wallace it is laid down, that the distressed circumstances of mankind disabling them to provide for a family, check very greatly the increase of population (Estimate, page 221): and he states, that when England was a country of shepherds and warriors, she was inconsiderable in numbers; that when manufacturers found their way into the country, when husbandmen gradually acquired greater skill, and when the spirit of commerce at length actuated all, people, as it were, grew out of the earth, amidst convulsions, famine, and warfare; that England can scarcely be regarded as a manufacturing
and

and commercial country at the Revolution, when contrasted with her present prosperity in manufacture and trade. (Estimate, page 212, 213.) Ireland, during the whole period from the Revolution to the present day, when manufactures and commerce are little more than in their dawn, that dawn itself only commencing in the year 1782, when the shackles on her commerce were taken off, may be said to have been a country of shepherds and warriors. The whole kingdom, part of the province of Ulster excepted, in which the linen manufacture has for some years flourished (and which also has been doubled in the last ten years), being almost destitute of agriculture and manufactures, and inhabited chiefly by herdsmen; a peasantry, as poor and miserable as any in Europe, for want of employment, and always furnishing the armies of foreign Potentates, as well as those of Great Britain, with multitudes of soldiers, and all foreign nations, particularly America, with crowds of emigrants: England, at the same time, constantly increasing in manufactures and commerce, and her people so fully employed, that the nation has frequently complained of want of hands to execute the various works in which they were engaged. From all which, I think it not only improbable, but impossible, that Ireland can have quadrupled her population since the Revolution, and that England and Wales should not, in the same space of time, have increased their population even by a fourth part.

2dly. I think the calculation made by Mr. Chalmers, from the documents afforded by Mr. Bushe, of the numbers in each house, is too great; in particular, the calculation of six persons to a house of one hearth: not more than four, if so many, should be allowed. The
inhabitants

inhabitants of such houses cannot be supposed to maintain servants; they consist of a man, his wife, and children, when fully inhabited; often of widows and children. The Irish inhabitants of such houses send off their children as servants or labourers the moment they are able to gain any kind of subsistence, their extreme poverty disabling them to maintain a family.

3dly. I am inclined to think that there is some error in the calculation of the number of houses in the nation, and that they do not amount to so many as Mr. Bushe has computed them to be.

4thly, and lastly. The superficial contents of the island of Great Britain are to those of Ireland in the proportion of three and a half to one. I conjecture, from the inspection of the maps, that the superficial contents of Scotland, with its islands, are pretty much the same with those of Ireland, perhaps they a little exceed them: England and Wales must be therefore more than twice as large as Ireland. I appeal to every intelligent man who has travelled over the two nations, whether the local population of England and Wales be not vastly greater than that of Ireland. If England and Wales have mountains and wastes, Ireland has her mountains, wastes, bogs, lakes, and morasses, of much greater extent, comparatively speaking, than England and Wales; and in the inhabited parts of the two nations the populousness of England and Wales exceeds that of Ireland in a very great ratio. I fancy Mr. Chalmers, whose researches, accuracy, and judgment, do him infinite honour, never travelled through Ireland, particularly through the provinces of Connaught, Munster, and Leinster; if he had, he
never

never could have been induced to believe that Ireland contained upwards of four millions of inhabitants, and England and Wales only double that number. One thing I will venture to assert, either that the calculation of the number of inhabitants of England and Wales falls vastly short of the real number, or that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland is grossly exaggerated: and that if Ireland contains upwards of four millions of inhabitants, England and Wales contain at least twelve millions. I have a much better opinion of the accuracy of Mr. Chalmers's calculations, and the authenticity of his documents, than of those of Mr. Bushe; and am myself decidedly of opinion, that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland has been exaggerated; and particularly, because I have known it to be a custom in Ireland, for gentlemen, who have assumed the title of Patriots, constantly to exaggerate the strength and importance of Ireland, with a view of bearding Great Britain; and they have, in the fashion of Falstaff, increased *their men in buckram* by upwards of one million, in my own recollection. A sort of inferior Member of this class of politicians, and an United Irishman, lately published a pamphlet in Dublin, relating to the health of the Citizens, and means of preserving it, in which he asserts, transiently as it were, that the inhabitants of Dublin amount to four hundred thousand, though I never before heard them computed at a greater number than one hundred and fifty thousand, and they are certainly under two hundred thousand. I am myself of opinion that the whole inhabitants of Ireland do not amount to more than three millions, if to so many.

Relative Numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland.

Sir William Petty, in his 'Political Anatomy,' states the proportion of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland to be as three to eight, in the year 1672, sixteen years before the Revolution, so that at that time the Irish Protestants amounted to more than one third of the inhabitants of the country. In the year 1732, an accurate enumeration was made by order of Government of all the families in Ireland, distinguishing the Protestant families from the Romish in each Province, and a calculation was made from thence of the numbers of the Protestant and Romish inhabitants of Ireland: it was printed in Dublin in the year 1736, and reprinted in 1788. It appears from that calculation, that in the year 1732 the number of Protestant inhabitants was to that of the Romish in the proportion of one to two and a half. Dr. Burke, Romish titular Bishop of Ossory, wrote a book in Latin, which he entitled, 'Hibernia Dominicana;' it was printed at Brussels in the year 1762; and he particularly states, that an actual enumeration was made of the numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland in the year 1731, and that there were found to be then in the kingdom seven hundred thousand four hundred and fifty-three Protestants; and one million three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight Romanists: so that the proportion of Romanists and Protestants was not in the year 1731 quite two to one, according to Dr. Burke. It is very likely that this Romish Bishop had very accurate information of the relative numbers, perhaps better than that which could be deduced from the documents stated in the pamphlet containing the calculation made in 1732. Dr. Burke also states, that the proportion had much increased

on the Protestant side, between the year 1731 and the year 1762, when he wrote, by the operation of the Popery Code, and the Protestant Charter-schools, and makes grievous complaints of the increase of Heretics, as he styles Protestants. The Popery Code continued in full vigour till the year 1776, and its operation, together with the Charter-schools, must have increased the proportion on the Protestant side. There is a modern document which must have great weight in this question, taken from the numbers of beggars admitted into the House of Industry in Dublin, for a course of six years, beginning with the year 1784, and ending with the year 1789; and their respective religious persuasions.

This House of Industry is a general receptacle for all beggars which flock into Dublin from all parts of Ireland, for there are no poor rates in Ireland. Divine service is performed separately in this receptacle for persons of the two persuasions, and chaplains are retained for each by the Corporation.

Numbers admitted.

	Protestants.	Romanists.
In 1784	— 696 —	1870
In 1785	— 768 —	2435
In 1786	— 1794 —	2912
In 1787	— 1493 —	3341
In 1788	— 854 —	3643
In 1789	— 798 —	3615
Sum total	<u>6403</u>	<u>17,816</u>

The Romish beggars admitted during a course of six years, did not exceed the Protestant beggars in the proportion of three to one. The House of Industry is filled

with the lowest class; and as the property in the hands of Irish Protestants is to that in the hands of Irish Romanists as thirty-nine to one, the proportion of beggars on the side of Irish Romanists to those on the Protestant side, must vastly exceed the proportion of Romanists and Protestants in the nation at large. Besides, although wandering beggars flock to Dublin from all parts of the kingdom, the fewest certainly come from the northern counties, which abound most with Protestants; for having a flourishing manufacture, these counties send forth fewest beggars. From all these documents it may be fairly concluded, that Irish Romanists exceed Irish Protestants in number throughout the whole kingdom in no greater proportion than that of two to one, perhaps in a much less.

The Romish Convention in Dublin, in the year 1792, first broached the positions, that Irish Romanists exceeded Irish Protestants in the proportion of three to one, and that the gross number of the inhabitants amounted to four millions; consequently, that the Romanists amounted to three millions. They never produced any document on which they pretended to found a calculation; however, they then admitted that Irish Protestants amounted to one million. It is remarkable that this Convention never scrupled to advance and publish any falsehood whatsoever, which they thought might be of advantage to their cause; of which their petition to His Majesty is a very prominent instance.

Comparative Property of Irish Protestants and Romanists.

The first reasonable ground of calculation of the comparative property of Irish Protestants and Romanists,

must be taken from the quantity of landed estates in the hands of the members of each persuasion respectively; and this is the surest ground of calculation in a country like Ireland, which is only just beginning to be a commercial country, and has as yet made no great progress. To make a true estimate in this respect, we must go back to the time of James the First. In his reign, six whole counties, out of nine contained in the province of Ulster, were forfeited to the Crown for treason: the King granted a great part of these counties to English and Scotch Protestants. These grants made a great addition to the landed estates at that time in the hands of Protestants; and the Grantees being infinitely more industrious than the former possessors, such of the ancient inhabitants as retained their estates by the favour of the Crown, in these six counties, and the same class throughout the whole province of Ulster, being a barbarous race, unused to industry, and addicted to luxury and gluttony, particularly to an immoderate thirst for strong liquors, wasted their properties, contracted large debts, and sold great portions of their estates to their industrious and frugal Protestant neighbours in that province, before the great Irish Rebellion in 1641. Their poverty, the consequence of their own idleness and dissipation, and their envy of the prosperity of their Protestant neighbours, the fruit of their frugality and industry, are assigned as some of the causes of that horrid Rebellion and Massacre. The whole mass of Irish Romanists throughout the nation engaged in this Rebellion of 1641; and when it was at length suppressed, almost the whole of the landed estates in the hands of Irish Romanists, at the time of its commencement, were forfeited to the Crown, and parcelled out among Protestants. These forfeitures, with

the landed estates in the hands of Protestants at the commencement of the Rebellion, amounted to five sixths of the whole landed property of the nation. The Irish Romanists in a mass again rebelled in the year 1699. After a war which lasted three years with uncommon fury, they were subdued; but obtained conditions, by which they were at liberty to remain in Ireland, and retain their estates, on the terms of their submission to the new Government under King William and Queen Mary, and taking the Oath of Allegiance; or of transporting themselves to France, and relinquishing their estates as forfeitures. Almost the whole body of Romanists then entitled to estates in Ireland, chose rather to go to France and abandon their estates, than submit to the Government and take the Oath of Allegiance. They entertained strong hopes of a new revolution in their favour, in which they were disappointed. The estates thus abandoned to forfeiture were granted by the Crown to Protestants. By the several means before mentioned, almost the whole landed property in Ireland became vested in Protestants. That part of the Popery Code which prohibited Irish Romanists to acquire landed property was enacted in the second year of Queen Anne (1703), shortly after the Revolution. It was afterwards strengthened by the eighth of Anne (1709), and was not materially relaxed, so as to allow them to purchase estates in fee, till the year 1782. In all the intermediate space, being eighty years, Romanists had the liberty of alienating the small pittance of landed property which remained in their hands after the Revolution, which they did not fail to make a liberal use of; but no liberty of acquisition: and during the eighteen years last past, they have had neither property, time, nor opportunity

to purchase or acquire any considerable portion of landed estates, so as materially or sensibly to diminish the mass of landed property in the hands of Irish Protestants at large. And from all the causes before mentioned it is certain, that the allowance of one fiftieth part of the landed property of the nation to the share of Irish Romanists, at the present day, is rather too great.

The small proportion of personal property in the hands of Irish Romanists, when compared with that in the possession of Irish Protestants, may be estimated from the following facts: About sixteen years ago, when a national Bank was established in Ireland, the capital proposed was six hundred thousand pounds. The Irish Romanists subscribed as much of this capital as they could raise, with a hope of engrossing to themselves the whole direction of the Bank, and thereby gaining a powerful influence to their party; yet the whole body was not then able to subscribe a larger part of this capital than sixty thousand pounds, one tenth of it! One argument strongly relied upon for the propriety of repealing that part of the Popery Code which forbade the acquisition of landed estates by Romanists, and that which had most weight with many Members of Parliament in that transaction, was, that if Romanists were allowed to buy estates, the rates of purchase of lands would be doubled, from the vast number of Romish buyers (represented as possessed of great personal property), which would then flock into the land market. They have had liberty to purchase estates these eighteen years past. When they obtained that liberty, fee-simple estates in Ireland, though leased to tenants for long terms of years, and consequently not likely to increase in value, were sold at the

rate of from twenty-three to twenty-five years purchase : at present they do not bring a greater price than eighteen years purchase ; and they have been gradually sinking in value from the time the Romanists obtained the permission to purchase ; a demonstration, that the number of purchasers in the land market did not much increase by that permission, and that the personal riches of Irish Romanists were imaginary. Since the free trade was granted to Ireland in the year 1782, some Irish Romanists have acquired considerable fortunes in trade ; but several Irish Protestants have also acquired large fortunes in the same time, by the same means ; so that it is pretty clear, that the personal estates of Irish Romanists, in the mass, do not amount to more than the twentieth part of the personal property of the nation, if to so much.

It is proper here to insert an account of a very extraordinary and artful attempt at procuring a fraudulent and garbled enumeration of the numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland, and giving it a credit and authenticity ; which was made in the year 1795, and which ought to put Irish Protestants on their guard, and render them more vigilant in defeating such attempts for the future.

In the year 1786, a society was formed in Ireland, and incorporated by patent, styled the Royal Irish Academy. A great number of the first characters in the kingdom in rank and property are members of this Academy ; Lords, Privy Counsellors, Bishops, and distinguished Commoners. It is of the same nature with the Royal Society in England. It has been instituted for the advancement of the studies of Science, Polite Literature, and

and Antiquities. As societies formed on the Continent, nominally for similar purposes, were perverted into engines for the subversion of the respective Governments under which they were established, one of which was the Society of Economists in France; and as the justly admired, celebrated, and learned Author of the '*Pursuits of Literature*' has hinted, that attempts have been made to distort some of the publications of the Royal Society in London to political and factious purposes, by some busy Romanists, under the veil of gratifying public curiosity by researches into antiquities; so some of the most factious of the Romanists of Ireland, and desperate Jacobins their allies, soon directed their attention to this Society, and endeavoured, with too much success, to get themselves admitted members of it; and I have read with amazement the names of Dr. M'Nevin, and others of rather worse and more dangerous characters, in the list of the members of this Society. It is an observation of Dean Swift, that men of ability often, from a listless inactivity, resign their pretensions to *vigilant dunces, who are sure never to be out of the way.* A similar observation is applicable to men of great rank and character in societies such as I am adverting to. From business, from inattention, and other causes, they are frequently found almost to abandon the meetings of these societies, and resign the management of them to *vigilant Jacobins, who are sure never to absent themselves;* giving them thus an opportunity of perverting the professed purposes of such societies to their own factious plans and designs, and stamping their frauds with the credit of great names. Thus it has happened in this Society. Dr. Priestley, as well as I recollect, coined the word Statistical. He was desirous of subverting the Constitution in Church and State, and

with that view endeavoured to encourage all Dissenters to enter into a general confederacy for the purpose, and proceeded in the execution of that scheme, by selecting such parts of England as abounded most with them, and numbering the inhabitants, with the different modes of their religious worship, to show that the number of inhabitants of the established Religion was not equal to that of Dissenters of all denominations. For this purpose he put forward what he called *Statistical Inquiries* in particular places, such as Birmingham, &c.; and to give an importance to his seditious operations, and to disguise them as the mere speculative pursuits of a philosopher, he coined the quaint term *Statistical*; a *Statistical Inquiry*, in the vulgar tongue, signifying nothing more than an *Inquiry into the State*. This mode of inquiry has been taken up since in England by a respectable Baronet, I believe for laudable purposes. The Romanists and Jacobins in the Royal Irish Academy procured a Committee of Statistical Inquiry to be appointed by the Society (the Members probably of their own nomination), for the enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, distinguishing the religious persuasion of each person. A Form was printed by this Committee, in columns, directing the mode in which the returns of the number, religion, and occupations of the inhabitants of each parish, barony, county, and diocese in the kingdom, was to be made; and by the printed Form it appears, that the whole was to have been executed by the Romish Parish Priests throughout the kingdom. When the Romish Priest of each parish had fabricated his statistical account of the numbers, religion, and occupation of the inhabitants of his parish, he was to show it (if he thought fit) to the Protestant or Dissenting Minister of

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the parish, and request his signature. This Committee well knew, that not one Protestant Minister in one hundred would sign such an account, made up by the Romish Priest. The printed Form also contained a Resolution of this Committee, to apply to the Romish titular Bishops, requesting their assistance in making this statistical inquiry, and the Copy of a Letter to be written by them respectively to each of their subordinate Priests. The Committee managed the whole business in the Society.

This was a scheme equally fraudulent and dangerous, calculated by the original projector or projectors for the mere purpose of sapping the Protestant interest in Ireland. The Committee for Statistical Inquiries passed over the Protestant Ministers, and selected the Romish Priests throughout the kingdom, to make this inquiry, well knowing that they would make returns in the same spirit with Hufsey, titular Bishop of Waterford, who stated, in a seditious pamphlet published by him, that Irish Romanists exceeded Irish Protestants in the kingdom at large, in the proportion of ten to one; and in that of one hundred to one in the diocese of Waterford: A most impudent falsehood! The Protestants, as appears by the printed Form, were to be subdivided by the Romish Priests into different sects, such as Protestants, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, &c. so as to make the numbers of each sect, when compared with the Romanists, appear in a diminished ratio; and to withdraw the attention of those, into whose hands the publication of the result of the statistical inquiry should come, from the sum total of the Protestants, and to fix it on the aggregate exaggerated number of Romanists; though, as Romanists consider all who are not of their communion

to be Heretics, and are equal enemies to them all, in comparing the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists, all persons who are not Romanists, are justly to be accounted on the Protestant side ; it being equally the interest of them all to oppose the persecuting spirit of Popery, the common enemy. The time of instituting this inquiry is worthy of remark. The Resolution of the Committee to employ the Romish Priests in the business, in the printed Form in my possession, bears date June 20th, 1795, the very time when the Romanists throughout the kingdom were busily employed in preparing for a general Insurrection, and, as they styled it, organizing their army ; and the result of such an inquiry made by the Romish Priests throughout the nation, but published under the sanction and authority of so respectable a body as the Royal Irish Academy, as a mere philosophical transaction, detached from all suspicion of party intrigue, the projectors knew would give mighty encouragement to the Insurrection, by the false and inflated account of the numbers and strength of Irish Romanists, when compared with the dwarfish representation of their opponents, which they knew would be contained in it. This would add to the confidence of the Rebels, and depress the spirits of the loyal inhabitants. The projectors also knew, that such a fraudulent inquiry would have a strong effect in Great Britain in their favour, in the event either of the success or suppression of the Rebellion.

It is not generally known how far this inquiry has been proceeded on ; but this is certain, that, antecedent to the Rebellion, several persons who joined in it, and some of whom were slain in the progress of it, others
hanged

hanged on its suppression, and some who have been acquitted on trials for treason by the provisions of the Amnesty Bill, were very active in making the inquiry, and proceeded on it under the form prescribed by the Committee for Statistical Inquiry. Perhaps the respectable Members of the Society have been awakened from their slumbers by the dangerous and fraudulent tendency of the measure, and have defeated the project.

No. 2.

Extract from the Irish Act of the 33d of His present Majesty (1793), entitled, 'An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.'

SECT. IX.

PROVIDED always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom; Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this Kingdom; Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of

of the Privy Seal, Vice-treasurer, Teller or Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, Member of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Second and Third Serjeants at Law, or King's Counsel, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth near Dublin, Postmaster-general, Master and Lieutenant-general of His Majesty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any County in this Kingdom, or any office contrary to the rules, orders, and directions made and established by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in pursuance of the Act passed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, *An Act for explaining some Doubts arising upon an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better Execution of His Majesty's gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Soldiers, and other his Subjects there;'* and for making some Alterations of, and Additions unto, the said Act, for the more speedy and effectual Settlement of this Kingdom; unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required, to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

No. 3.

*Extract from Blackstone's Commentaries, 4th vol. page 57,
Octavo Edition.*

THE better to secure the established Church against perils from Non-conformists of all denominations, Infidels, Turks, Jews, Heretics, Papists, and Sectaries, *there are two bulwarks erected, called the Corporation and Test Acts.* By the former of which no person can be legally elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation, unless, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the church of England; and he is enjoined to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, at the same time that he takes the Oath of Office; or in default of either of these requisites, his election shall be void. The other, called the *Test Act*, directs all Officers, civil and military, to take the Oaths, and make the Declaration against Transubstantiation, in the Court of King's Bench or Chancery, the next term, or at the next quarter-sessions, or within six months after their admission; and also within the same time to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, in some public church, immediately after divine service and sermon, and to deliver into Court a certificate thereof, signed by the Minister and Churchwardens; and also to prove the same by two credible witnesses, upon forfeiture of 500*l.* and disability to hold the office.

P. S. Test Act passed in the 13th of Charles II. c. 1.

Corporation Act in the 25th of Charles II. c. 2.

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PART III.

THE
SPEECH
OF
PATRICK DUGENAN, L.L.D.

IN THE
IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 5, 1800,

ON THE
SUBJECT
OF AN
INCORPORATING UNION

BETWEEN
GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

SPEECH,

&c. &c. &c.

I AM unwilling to give my vote in support of a measure of such importance, as the consolidation of the realms of Great-Britain and Ireland by an Incorporating Union, without explaining to my countrymen the reasons which have influenced me to contribute my weak assistance to so momentous a measure. I shall endeavour to compress them into as small a compass as possible: premising, however, that I feel no inconsiderable portion of dissatisfaction and regret, in perceiving that my sentiments on this occasion are

different from those of many able men, as remarkable for their public spirit, as for integrity, extent and strength of talents, natural and acquired, and with whose political opinions, since I took any part in public business, I have heretofore generally concurred. I confess that I feel some consolation in observing, that I differ also in opinion, on the present business, from other Gentlemen, with whose political opinions I never did nor ever will concur ; and that although there is a division among the loyal and staunch friends of the Constitution on the present question, yet there is an entire coincidence of opinion upon it among all Jacobin traitors throughout the kingdom : they, to a man, are hostile to it ; their principles I abhor : and I cannot refrain from expressing my uneasiness at perceiving many loyal citizens of Dublin, in this particular, dupes to the practices and deceptions of that dangerous, anarchical, blood-thirsty crew. I am fortified in my opinion on this occasion by reflecting, that notwithstanding the hostility of some able, honest men to the measure, men of equal integrity and ability support it, and I think the persons of that des-

cription, friends to it, are much more numerous than those of the same description, who appear in the ranks of the adversary.

I shall first make a few observations on the present state of the natural and political connection between Great-Britain and Ireland. The latter kingdom, from its geographical situation, is shut out from all intercourse with the northern parts of Europe, except by the permission of Great-Britain : and as Great-Britain lies between it and all parts of Europe, from Brittany to the Northern Pole, so it is in its power to prevent, in a great measure, its communication with all the Southern parts of Europe ; for Ireland, in respect to all Europe, lies as it were behind Great-Britain ; it is also divided from Great-Britain by a narrow channel only, extending the whole length of Ireland from North to South, in some places not above six leagues wide. Its political connection with Great-Britain I shall take up on the basis of its settlement in 1782, which is now insisted upon by the adversaries of an Incorporating Union, as a final settlement between the two king-

doms, never to be changed or altered. Ireland is connected with Great-Britain by having one branch of its Legislative Power, to wit, the regal branch, and the whole of its Executive Power, in common with Great-Britain; and the person invested with its whole Executive Power, and with a part of its Legislative Power, endowed with a veto on all deliberative resolutions of the other two branches of the Legislative, resides in Great-Britain: By the settlement of 1782, no bill, after it has passed the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland, can become a law, until after it has been sent into Great-Britain, under the Great Seal of Ireland, and is returned from thence under the Great Seal of Great-Britain; that is, in fact, until after it has been approved of by his Majesty, and his British Cabinet Council; so that under the settlement of 1782, the British Ministry can prevent the enactment of any law whatsoever in this kingdom; and it seems to me that there is some inaccuracy in stating the Legislature of this kingdom to be independent under these circumstances. Certain I am, that I have heard grievous complaints of the control of the

British Cabinet exercised over the Legislature of this kingdom, and the disastrous effects on this kingdom of a double Cabinet, English and Irish, very pathetically insisted upon by Gentlemen, who now oppose an Incorporating Union on the principle of its subverting the settlement of 1782, and the independence of this kingdom.

I have been somewhat surprised at finding this House so frequently amused with declamations on the point, whether the settlement of 1782 was intended by the two kingdoms as a final adjustment of all matters then in dispute, so as effectually to secure that perpetual connection necessary to the happiness, almost to the existence of both as free States, and to preclude all future possibility of separation. I look on the question, whether that settlement, at the time it was concluded, was considered or intended to be final or not, as totally immaterial. Debates upon it put me in mind of the conduct of lawyers on a suit, as described by that sagacious observer of mankind, Captain Lemuel Gulliver: "In pleading," says the Captain, "they studiously avoid entering

“ into the merits of the cause, but are loud,
 “ violent and tedious in dwelling upon all cir-
 “ cumstances which are not to the purpose ;
 “ for instance, if my neighbour claims my
 “ cow, they never desire to know what title
 “ my adversary has to my cow, but whether the
 “ said cow were red or black, her horns long or
 “ short, whether the field I graze her in were
 “ round or square, and the like.”

The true question on the settlement of 1782 to
 be resolved by this House, is, Whether that
 Settlement be such as does effectually secure the
 perpetual connection of the two kingdoms ? and
 not whether it was considered as final at the time
 it was entered into.

Sir, the present connection between Great
 Britain and Ireland is such as has no parallel in
 the history of the world : it contains in it ano-
 malies heretofore unknown to the law of nations,
 and the seeds of dissolution ; these anomalies
 must be corrected, and these seeds must be effec-
 tually prevented from striking root ; which can

be only effected by an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms. Separation, or rather an unsuccessful attempt at separation, which will be attended with the utter ruin and desolation of this kingdom by civil war, will be the unavoidable and necessary consequence of the rejection of that only effectual remedy.

The present connection between these two kingdoms is not similar to an alliance offensive and defensive between two independent Nations, which depends on stipulations entered into by the two contracting parties for mutual defence and security; for, if the conditions of the alliance are not performed by one of them, the other may break off from the alliance, and look to other security, or take such measures as it may think proper for its own defence, and may at any time enter into leagues and treaties with other Powers, not inconsistent with its offensive and defensive alliance; and either party has a right to proclaim war or make peace on reasonable terms, and to call on the other to assist in war with its stipulated quota, or to concur in a pacification

on reasonable terms, or such as it may deem reasonable; but the case is quite otherwise with Ireland in respect to Great Britain; proclamation of war on the part of Great Britain, against any Power whatsoever, immediately involves Ireland in hostilities, as part of the British Empire, and Great Britain may make Peace without consulting in any manner with Ireland on the terms or conditions, and without stipulating in any manner for her indemnity or compensation for her losses in the war. Ireland cannot enter into any treaty whatsoever, either commercial or otherwise, with any foreign Power, but is bound by all the treaties into which Great Britain enters, without being even consulted on the expediency of them.

Surely, Sir, these are great badges of dependency. I have heard Gentlemen on the other side of the House complain bitterly of them; and, whilst they assert the independence of this Nation on Great Britain, and assert that such independence was secured by the settlement of 1782, and on that score struggle to support that settle-

Settlement as final, and reprobate all alteration, and consequently an Incorporating Union, they cannot but admit the present connection between the two Nations, as settled in 1782, to be a connection degrading, and in a high degree detrimental to this Nation, and that it contains within itself a mine of combustibles, which, one day or other, will be sprung, and involve the country in confusion, ruin and desolation, which it will take a century to repair.

Exclusive of the aforesaid great imperial sources of discontent and animosity between the two Nations, arising from the very nature of their present connection, are there no other causes of disunion interwoven with it? What loud complaints have we repeatedly heard in this House of the shackled state of our commerce by our present connection with Great Britain since the year 1782? Are these causes removed? It is admitted, that the Settlement of 1782 was not final with respect to the Tariff between the two Nations; we rejected the Commercial Proposi-

tions since 1782, which were designed to settle that Tariff, with disdain, on a supposition that they trenched on our imaginary independence; professing that we would not barter Constitution for Commerce. Is the Channel Trade between Great Britain and Ireland yet settled to our satisfaction? Is the India Trade? Are numberless other causes of discontent, jealousy and emulation on the point of trade between these two commercial and adjacent nations, yet removed? Are the mouths of our ranting Patriots, continually bellowing in our ears, that the interests and pursuits of the two nations in point of trade are incompatible and irreconcilable, and that the animosity of the inhabitants of the two countries is instinctive, yet closed? Or are they ever likely to be closed in the present state of correspondence and brittle connection of the two countries?—surely not, the present connection between them is rather a faithleest truce, *insidiæ induciæ!* than a permanent state of harmony and peace.

Federal Unions, such as was that of the United Provinces, being an union of a number of small Republics for mutual defence, the present Union

of the several States of America, and of the Germanic Body, have been always accounted weak and inefficient; we know by experience they are so; look to Germany, look to the United Provinces; they will all in process of time submit to the same fate with the United Provinces, that is, be reduced to slavery by a potent neighbour; or will break and separate into distinct Sovereignities independent of each other. Yet the present connection between Great Britain and Ireland is more infirm and fleeting than even a federal Union: for in a federal Union an Assembly is formed by Deputies sent from all the States which compose it, as the States General of the United Provinces, the Diet of the German Empire, the Congress of America, which Assembly is empowered to decide and determine on all matters necessary to their common security and interest, and to whose decisions the whole Union is bound to submit.

But there is no such common Assembly to support the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and to consult for the respective interests

of both. Such a connection can never be supported but by the decided superiority of the one State, arising from superior strength and opulence, and the decided inferiority of the other in both particulars. Hence it arises, that it will always be the interest of the stronger to retain the weaker in its state of inferiority : And of the weaker to struggle for equality at least, and to endeavour to free itself from subjection to the other by every possible or feasible means. Such a connection is always hollow, attended by tumult and disorders, constantly increasing and fermenting, and at length ending in civil war and absolute subjugation ; or separation by the interested assistance of some ambitious neighbour.

The probable durability of the present connection between Great Britain and Ireland cannot be supported by any arguments drawn from the circumstance, that His Majesty and his Progenitors for three generations have enjoyed the Crown of Great Britain, and the Electoral dignity, as Sovereign of Hanover, without any convulsion, or probability of his being disturbed in the en-

joyment of both ; it cannot be from thence inferred, that the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, which since 1782, depends on their having a common Sovereign, may be reasonably expected to endure without the prospect of any convulsive pangs of disunion or separation. For the King of Great Britain is not Elector of Hanover, by virtue of his being King of Great Britain. And the interest of Great Britain and Hanover are so completely distinct, that the English Ministry can have no necessity of interfering with the Regency of Hanover, or its interests, external or internal, nor can they ever clash : His Majesty of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, is a vassal and subject of the Emperor, and Hanover is a Province of the German Empire, from which it cannot be severed whilst the Germanic body exists ; it never can have any further connection with Great Britain than it has at present ; and the intercourse between the two countries is extremely confined, as Hanover lies on the Continent, is almost surrounded by the other German Provinces, and has but a very contracted communication with the sea ; nor can

there exist any cause of dissention between Great Britain and Hanover, considered as a distinct principality; and the King of Great Britain may ever remain a subject of the Empire, as Elector of Hanover, without the interference of Great Britain to support her title to the Electorate, and without its being at all material to Great Britain, whether he is or is not Elector of Hanover.

But every one of these circumstances are directly reversed when the connection between Great Britain and Hanover is compared with that which has subsisted between Great Britain and Ireland since the year 1782. When Gentlemen insist that the Settlement between the two nations in 1782 is final, and consequently wants no amendment or alteration, that it is of itself sufficient to maintain a perpetual connection between the two Countries, and that any further Union is unnecessary; I cannot but wonder by what arguments, many of them will support their own consistency: whom I have heard arguing with the utmost vehemence in every session of Parliament since that period, for the necessity of alterations in

the established Constitution of Ireland, as well in regard to its internal provisions for the government of the subjects, as in its external regulations respecting its connection with England, which they now assert were finally and for ever settled in 1782 :—Witness the complaints of the inequality of the Channel Trade ; of the exclusion from the East India Trade ; of the importation of English Manufactures ; of the contraction of the Colony Trade, and of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland ; of the want of protecting Duties ; of the interference of the English Cabinet with Irish Affairs ; and of the double Cabinet ; of the history of the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, being a history of oppression and injury on the part of Britain, as well before as since the year 1782 ; of fugacious English Administrations in Ireland, not accountable for their conduct to the Irish Parliament ; of Ireland being involved in the wars of Great Britain, without being consulted on the expediency of war or peace, or having any power to promote or obstruct either the one or the other ; of the incapacity of Ireland to treat with all foreign

States ; its total deprivation of all federative capacity ; with a multitude of other inconveniences, defects and imperfections of the Settlement of 1782, and perpetual declamations on the necessity of Reforms, Emancipations, &c. directly tending to the utter subversion of the present Constitution, and the Settlement of 1782 ; yet these are the very Gentlemen who now rest their principal arguments against an Incorporating Union on the perfection of the system of 1782 ; insisting that all attempts further to strengthen the connection between the two realms as settled in 1782, and to extinguish national animosities, are not only unnecessary, but pernicious and destructive to Ireland.

I will now proceed to state and answer the other objections which I have heard urged against an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms ; and I shall have an opportunity, in my progress, of stating, and I hope of proving, the positive advantages which must result to Ireland from it ; and the ruin and destruction which will be the certain consequences of its rejection.

It

It is first objected that the independence of Ireland will be destroyed by an Incorporating Union with Great Britain. I have already pretty fully demonstrated, that Ireland, in its present situation, cannot be considered as an independent kingdom, properly speaking; and, besides, if independence applied to Ireland means *the substantive independence of a kingdom, unconnected with any other Nation, save by treaties of amity containing reciprocal obligations entered into between equals, and possessing an Imperial Government within itself*; it is pretty plain to common understandings, that Ireland, in that sense, is not now an independent Nation; for Ireland is a Province of the British Empire. The Crown of Ireland is not an Imperial Crown; it is inseparably united, annexed to, and dependent upon the Imperial Crown of England (now the Imperial Crown of Great Britain); and whoever is King of Great Britain, is, *ipso facto*, King of Ireland. Such is the language of our own Statute law, repeated over and over again in our Statute books unrepealed, and which never can be repealed; because His Majesty of Great Britain

can never give his royal assent to any law authorising the spoliation of his royal diadem, by tearing the most valuable jewels from it ;—unless compelled to it through necessity, and the successful issue of Rebellion : which Heaven avert !

But should it even be admitted that Ireland is an independent Nation, how can it be inferred or proved that she would lose her independence, or any degree of independence which she may now enjoy, by an Incorporating Union with Great Britain ? By such Union she becomes one body with Great Britain, and consequently must enjoy equal independence with Great Britain ; they will together form one consolidated independent Empire ; the part of that Empire West of the Irish Channel will be as independent as that part of England South of the Trent, and that part North of the Trent, or that of Great Britain North of the Tweed ; and Ireland will be no more a Province dependent on England than England or Scotland are Provinces dependent on Ireland, or on one another. The objection seems to me to be founded on sophistry,

on this deceitful position, *that each part of the same body, being dependent in some measure upon the rest of the body, the whole, thus composed of parts dependent on each other, cannot be said to form one independent body, because it is composed of dependent particles*; though whilst they adhere together they form one body detached from all others. The Gentlemen who support such a dogma would do well to consider how they can, by such reasoning, maintain the independence of Ireland; for, by the same argument, the four Provinces of Ireland being dependent each on the other three, the four together cannot form one independent body.

It is in the second place objected, that the superior number of British Members in the Imperial Parliament, will give them the power of oppressing Ireland, and infringing the conditions on which an Incorporating Union may be concluded.

I admit that there must be a power in all States paramount and supreme, that can alter or abro-

gate all the laws and regulations of the State, for the manifest good and advantage of the subjects, and enact new laws for the same purposes; but such supreme power is restrained within the bounds of reason and justice, and the present argument is founded on a presumption of fraud and ill-faith, which the principles of natural law, as well as the express maxims of our own municipal law, forbid us to entertain. Our own law tells us that fraud is not to be presumed. When King Henry VIII. consulted the judges, then removable at the will of the Crown, on the question whether a bill of attainder passed against a man by Parliament, then also enslaved, without calling on the object of it to answer, or giving him a trial, would be valid? The judges told him, that such an act, from the transcendant power of Parliament, would be valid; but they trusted that so great and honourable a tribunal as that of Parliament would never degrade itself, and make so flagitious an use of their supreme authority, as to adopt such a proceeding against any man. And an answer of a similar nature might be sufficient to the present objection, the

Parliament being now independent; because there is a mighty difference between power itself, and the just or unjust exercise of it; and the objection can have no weight if we are to presume, as by law we are directed, that the Imperial Parliament will be guided by justice in their proceedings.

But there still remains a more powerful answer to the objection, and that is, that the condition of an Incorporating Union must be canvassed fully in the two Parliaments of Great-Britain and Ireland, before any Union can be effected; and it is morally certain that no conditions will be agreed to, which shall not be deemed by these Parliaments, who are supposed to understand the interests of their country, advantageous as well to the nations respectively, as to the empire at large. And when the two Nations shall become one by an Incorporating Union, can it be supposed that the Imperial Parliament will ever attempt to infringe the conditions promotive of the interests of each country in particular, and of the whole body in general? Such a proceeding with

respect to either country, would injure the whole body, and would be therefore contrary to the interest of the infringers; as it would be destructive of the sanity and strength of the whole human body, for all the parts, the leg excepted, to conspire to wither the leg; therefore there can be no apprehension of the breach of the conditions of an Incorporating Union by the Imperial Parliament, to the prejudice of Ireland; unless we shall suppose that the British Members shall all become blind, as well to justice as to their own interest. Besides, it may be stipulated in the Treaty of Union, that any breach of the conditions shall be deemed a dissolution of the Union, as was done in the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland; and experience has proved, that no attempt at a breach of the conditions of that Union was ever made. I can only conceive one case in which the conditions of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be altered, and that is, when all or a very great majority of the Representatives of one of the contracting Nations shall petition for an alteration of any of the articles which peculiarly affects one

of them, without any special interest in the other to resist such a change ; in that case, I apprehend an alteration might be justly made on the principle of *volenti non fit injuria*.

It is objected thirdly, That Ireland, by an Incorporating Union will become subject to the heavy taxes and debt of Great Britain. This objection may be entirely done away by inserting stipulations in the Treaty of Union, that Ireland shall be only liable to such portion of the public burthen as is suitable to her means and finances. Such stipulations in favour of Scotland have been inserted in the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, and have never been violated.

But this objection is in truth founded on deception ; for it is founded on the baseless assumption, that Ireland, after an Incorporating Union shall take place, will remain in its present situation, or a worse in point of trade, improvement and opulence. Whereas, it is obvious, that Ireland, possessing as fertile a soil as Great Britain, and being, when incorporated with that

Nation, as advantageously situated for commerce, must become in time, and not at a very remote period, equal to Great Britain, in local population, commerce and wealth. Her inhabitants being then on an exact level with those of Great Britain, intermixed with them, and becoming one people with them, the present industrious habits and pursuits of the one Nation, its commerce and its manufactures must be speedily communicated to the other, and become common to both: and when we contemplate the happiness, wealth and comforts of life which the inhabitants of Great Britain enjoy at present in a much superior degree (though liable to the present heavy debts and taxes) to the inhabitants of Ireland, what Irishman would repine or have cause to complain, if the inhabitants of Ireland were put on an exact level in all these particulars with the inhabitants of Great Britain? If we shall, in case of an Incorporating Union, have heavier taxes, they will be no grievances if we shall have more ample sources of wealth, a greater capacity of paying, and greater funds remaining to expend on our comforts and enjoyments.

I am

I am aware that it has been asserted by a very great and truly respectable authority, that the Trade of Ireland cannot and will not be increased by an Incorporating Union ; and it has been attempted to be proved that the Trade of Ireland could not be injured by Great Britain, if she should design to injure it, for that Ireland has other and as lucrative markets for her commodities as Great Britain : my own want of skill in commercial affairs, and my settled opinion of the ability and extensive information of the asserter of these doctrines, to me at least novel, induced me, after their publication, to consider them with great attention, to examine the documents on which they were founded, and to read the several answers to them which have appeared, as well in the English as in the Irish prints, and after the very best and most mature consideration of them, I profess I cannot acquiesce in them ; for, in the first place, as the proportionate commerce and opulence of Great Britain vastly exceed those of Ireland, I cannot well conceive, when Ireland, situated as she is, and possessing as fertile a soil as Great Britain shall form one and the same body with

Great Britain by an Incorporating Union, that part of that body shall continue in the greatest health and vigour, and that another part with all the vital juices in full and free circulation, without any obstruction whatsoever to impede their course, shall remain in a debilitated and withered state : on the contrary, I am clearly of opinion, that the wealth and commerce of Great Britain must by an Union be communicated to Ireland, and that Ireland will thereby acquire a proportionate and local equality in trade with Great Britain and every part of it.

In the second place, I am convinced that Ireland is indebted for almost her whole commerce to Great Britain ; she has opened to Ireland the trade of her colonies ; she has shielded her principal manufactures, to which she has opened her own markets, with bounties, and restrained the importation of manufactures of the same nature from other countries by duties. At no other markets on the face of the globe could the manufactures of Ireland be disposed of to the same advantage ; she affords a ready market, ready sale, and speedy return for the commodities of Ireland,

which no other nation could afford, and which few would offer: nor could Irish capitals support the same trade with other nations, who would require longer credits. British fleets secure the foreign commerce of Ireland throughout the globe, and the hostility of Great Britain to Ireland would at once annihilate almost all Irish commerce and manufactures; and the balance of trade between Great Britain and Ireland is much in favour of the latter kingdom.

It is objected, that the City of Dublin will be depopulated and injured, and its trade ruined by an Incorporating Union. Of all the objections against the measure, this has the greatest weight with the mass of the people, and yet it is infinitely the weakest. Such has been the power of deception, that this fallacious argument has imposed upon and misled the loyal citizens of Dublin, who in the late atrocious Rebellion so courageously stood forth the champions and the bulwarks of the Constitution in Church and State, and has so far blinded their understandings as to render them careless even of their own preservation,

of their liberties and properties, and induced them to permit themselves to be made the dupes and tools of the sanguinary Jacobin traitors, who so lately deluged their country with the best Protestant blood of the Nation.

The Conspirators who originally planned that bloody insurrection, and the ruffians employed in the massacres with which it was accompanied, and whose carcasses, justly forfeited to the law, have been bailed from the executioner, by what has been stiled the lenity of Government, now openly and triumphantly appear, leading the deluded citizens to the altars of rebellion, conspiracy and sedition, there to enter into engagements for the subversion of the constitution, and to affix their signatures, at the desire of the pardoned and ungrateful traitors, to the manifestoes of threatened and meditated insurrection. Bound as I am from general, and in many instances personal attachment, gratitude and interest, to promote to the extremity of my abilities the welfare and prosperity of the city of Dublin, in which though not my native place, I have been nurtured and

educated from my early infancy; and which comprehends so many of my closest and most valuable connections, I cannot view with indifference this fatal delusion of many of its most loyal and worthy citizens. I heartily deplore it, and shall use my endeavours to awaken them to the calls of loyalty, honour, security and peace.

I have already, I trust, proved that the trade and wealth of Ireland must be increased by an Union, which will open sources of commerce yet unknown in this country; it will increase wealth in the same proportion, and capital must increase by the additional security which the lives and properties of the inhabitants of Ireland will acquire by such Union; and the city of Dublin must participate largely in the increased commerce, wealth and capital of the Nation at large. Dublin is situated about midway in the Irish Channel. Its port, though not accessible by ships of as great burthen as that of Liverpool, yet is a much better port than that of the latter place, much more easily accessible, and ships of

three or four hundred tons, large enough for carrying on commerce to any part of the globe, may resort to it. Dublin is capable of receiving great improvements as a commercial city, sufficient to secure to it for ever a decided superiority in point of trade over every other town in Ireland; and if an annual sum shall be appropriated out of the treasury for compleating the two canals which communicate with it on the North and South (already far advanced), under proper regulations, so as to finish the water carriage from Dublin in the Shannon, it will extend into Connaught, and may be further extended in that province by means of the river Suck. Such an improvement will for ever secure to Dublin the exclusive import and export trade of this island, in a tract of country the best in the kingdom, of near one hundred miles broad, and reaching almost from the Channel to the Western Ocean. The compleating these canals, at the public expence, may be made one of the articles of the Union, and will alone compensate tenfold for any partial loss which it is suggested that Dublin may suffer by it; for it is not even pretended that the

Nation at large will suffer by an Union, in point of commerce ; all that is attempted to be proved (and the proof has totally failed) is, that Ireland will not gain in point of trade by this measure. Other advantages to the city of Dublin, not prejudicial to the kingdom at large, may be stipulated for in the Treaty of Union.

We are now to consider what the loss is, that it is suggested the city will sustain by an Incorporating Union. It is suggested, that many other port towns will rise in commerce on the ruins of that of Dublin in case of an Union : I cannot see any reasonable ground for such suggestion ; but if there is any, I have already pointed out an effectual method, not only to secure Dublin in its present trade, but to increase it to a degree hitherto never experienced or hoped for.

It is next suggested, that Dublin will decay as well in population as trade, by its ceasing to be the annual place of meeting of Parliament ; and that absentees will be increased, as well from Dublin as from the rest of the kingdom, by an

Union, which will therefore drain the kingdom in general, and Dublin in particular, of great sums of money annually. I cannot think that the kingdom in general, or Dublin in particular, will be drained of great sums of money by the increase of absentees, which, it is supposed, will happen on an Union taking place, for I do not think that it will cause any very material increase of absentees. Already our absentees, and most of them of very great landed estates, are very numerous, and most of our Nobility and considerable Gentry, who are reputed residents, spend their summers, or a considerable part of them, in England, either in or near London, or at the several watering places in England. Thirty of our Peers, and one hundred of our Commoners, are to sit in the Imperial Parliament; of these Commoners sixty-four are to be elected for the counties at large, eighteen more for cities or towns which are also counties, and the remainder for corporate towns, considerable for their population and extent: so that almost the whole of the Irish Representatives in the Commons of the Imperial Parliament, will be returned on popular elections.

tions. And all, such persons, to secure their interests in the counties and towns which they represent, will be obliged to spend their summers (the seasons of recess of the Imperial Parliaments) among their Irish constituents, instead of spending them, as they now do, in England. Of the thirty Peers, who are to represent the Irish Peerage in the Imperial Parliament, many will be such as at present spend their whole time, or almost the whole, in England; from whence I infer, that Ireland in general will not suffer considerably, perhaps not at all, by an Union. The city of Dublin will certainly lose the partial residence of some of the Members of Parliament annually, but not of all; for many persons who are now Members of the Irish Parliament, such as the whole body of lawyers now in Parliament, and many others who always reside in or near Dublin, and who will not be of the number elected to the Imperial Parliament, will continue to reside in their usual places of abode. The city will continue the metropolis of the kingdom, the seat of the Courts of Justice, and of the Viceroy;

and upon the whole, cannot, by any computation, suffer any greater annual loss than about fifty thousand pounds, perhaps less, by an Union; and will certainly be a gainer of several hundreds of thousands annually by the means I have suggested, and by other stipulations in its favour, which may be inserted in the Treaty of Incorporating Union. And the city of Dublin will be certainly increased, as well in wealth as population, by such a measure.

Pending the treaty for an Union between England and Scotland, the same methods for inflaming the inhabitants of Edinburgh to oppose that measure, were adopted by a discontented party in that kingdom, as are now made use of to inflame the citizens of Dublin. Yet Edinburgh, in less than a century since that Union took place, has been more than doubled in extent and in population; and in trade, wealth and magnificence, improved tenfold. My arguments are therefore warranted, not by reason only, but experience: and the citizens of Dublin will soon have good cause to reprobate and execrate the fraudulent

and sanguinary jacobinical assassins, by whom they are at present so fatally misled.

It is in the fifth place objected, that the Irish Parliament is not competent to enter into and conclude a treaty with the Sister Kingdom for an Incorporating Union. The competency of the Irish Parliament to such a measure, has been so fully and ably proved by an Honourable Member of this House, in his Speech on the expediency of an Union in the last Session of Parliament, which Speech has been since printed *: and the futility and ineptitude of the objection so fully exposed, that it is not necessary for me to be at much trouble in scouting that phantom of forensian quibbling inanity out of this House. A brief examination of this doctrine of incompetency of Parliament on the present occasion, may however be not amiss.

The best writers on the British Constitution,

* Speech of W. Smith, Esq. on the Subject of a Legislative Union, Thursday, January 24, 1799.

and those who have wound up their ideas of true political liberty to the highest tone which can consist with any harmony or stability of Government, Mr. Locke in particular, lay it down as a maxim, that each member of the commonwealth has surrendered to the state, or supreme legislative power, and vested in it all his rights under the law of nature. In the 11th chapter of Mr. Locke's Treatise on Government, is to be found the following passage: "The supreme legislative power, " in every commonwealth is the joint power of, " every member of the society, given up to that " person or assembly which is legislator, and is " what those persons had in a state of nature, " before they entered into the society, and gave " up to the community." A little farther on he adds, " This power, in the utmost bounds of " it, is limited to the public good of the so- " ciety." And in the close of the 19th chapter he writes thus, " The power which every indi- " vidual gave the society, when he entered into " it, can never revert to the individual again, as " long as the society lasts, but will always remain " in the community; because without this there " can be no community, no commonwealth,

“ which is contrary to the original agreement,
 “ So also, when the society hath placed the Le
 “ gislative in any Assembly of men to continue
 “ in them and their successors, with direction
 “ and authority of providing such successors,
 “ the Legislative (which he in all places styles
 “ the Supreme Power) can never revert to the
 “ People whilst that Government lasts : Because
 “ having provided a Legislative with power to
 “ continue for ever, they have given up their
 “ political power to the Legislative, and can
 “ never resume it.” Montesquieu, in the 6th
 Chapter of his 11th Book, where he treats of
 the English Constitution, lays it down as a
 maxim : “ That the People ought to have no
 “ share in the Government, but for the choos-
 “ ing of Representatives, which is within their
 “ reach.” It is notorious, that a man in a state
 of nature has full authority and power to join
 any other man or set of men, and to form with
 them a community, or to connect himself
 with a community already formed, and become
 a member of that community which is willing to
 receive him as a member. This natural right
 each man has given up to the community, and

the Supreme Legislative Power of the community is invested with that right, and consequently is competent to join any other community or commonwealth in an Incorporating Union, and to bind all the subjects of the State to that incorporation; and that power of the Legislative is bounded only by the public good of the society, of which it is a better judge than tumultuous, unconstitutional, and illegal assemblies of the people, and of which, the members of the commonwealth, when they elected them their Representatives, supposed them to be the best judges.

Mr. Locke published his Treatise on Government in the year 1690: he had been the Secretary and Confidant of the famous Earl of Shaftesbury; and had been educated at Oxford, during the domination of the republican fanatics, and was brought up in the extremity of Whig principles, and published his work at the time civil dissensions were at the highest, for the purpose of justifying the Revolution, at that time a recent transaction not compleatly and fully established,

One principal accusation against the abdicated family was, that they designed to subjugate the kingdom to France. This design was principally attributed to Charles the Second and his Ministry, and was one of the accusations of Lord Shaftesbury, the patron of Mr. Locke, against the Court in the reign of that Monarch. Mr. Locke, therefore, in his 19th Chapter on the Dissolution of Governments, states, rather too largely, “ that the alteration of the Legislative “ is a dissolution of Government:” And then subjoins, “ that the delivery of the People into “ the subjection of a foreign Power, either by “ the Prince, or the Legislative, is certainly a “ change of the Legislative, and so a dissolution “ of the Government.”

In respect to the first position of Mr. Locke, that a change of the Legislative is a dissolution of Government, I believe the Gentlemen who oppose this measure, will scarcely subscribe to the truth of it: for they have for a series of years been preaching up the necessity of a change in the Legislative, as well by abolishing most of

the Boroughs, as by new-modelling the remainder; and by extending the Elective Franchise to large bodies of the People, heretofore disqualified by the laws of the commonwealth: Some of which pretended reforming schemes have succeeded, and all which would immediately operate as alterations in the Legislative Body.

But it is necessary to advert to the second position of Mr. Locke, and to try whether the conclusion of a Treaty of Incorporating Union with Great Britain by the Irish Legislature, on terms of absolute equality and communication of all privileges, can be deemed a delivery of the Irish Nation into a subjection to a *foreign* Power. It is to be observed in the first place, that Great Britain in respect to Ireland is not a *foreign* Power; both Nations compose one Empire, whose interests with respect to all other Nations are one and the same. Secondly, the Legislatures of the two Nations are not distinct and separate in their present condition: for one branch of the Legislative, and the Supreme Executive, is one and the same in both. Thirdly, the Irish Legislative

lative is not a supreme power in Ireland, for the exercise of its authority may be at all times cramped and impeded by the English Cabinet in many and most instances; and it has no federative or imperial authority respecting foreign nations, nor has its Executive any such authority, as derived from the Irish Legislature; and if the Irish Legislature vested their whole legislative authority in the British Legislature, such a proceeding would not amount to the subjection of the Irish Nation to a *foreign* Power, even on Mr. Locke's principles, and to a consequent dissolution of Government.

But an Incorporating Union with Great Britain admits of no such interpretation, as the delivery of the Irish Nation to a *subjection to Great Britain*. Irish Peers and Irish Representatives of the Commons will sit in the Imperial Parliament with equal privileges, liberties, and immunities with British Peers and British Representatives; the superior numbers of the latter classes to those of the former, arising from the superior extent and opulence of the British Nation, can never, as I

trust I have already proved, operate to the peculiar disadvantage of Ireland; there can be no inequality of interest between the limbs of the same body, and consequently no subjection, except the due subordination of all the parts of a body, to serve in their respective functions for the general and common advantages of the whole, be subjection. The Representative form of Government will be preserved in its purity and vigour, under the same Sovereign, the same Executive; and no objection on the score of change of the Legislature can, as I apprehend, come with any degree of consistency from the opposite side of the House, founded on the diminution, or rather annihilation, of the Irish Borough Representation in the new system, which Representation they have so often declaimed against, nor from the junction of the Peerage and Representatives of the Commons in both Nations in the same Houses, upon perfect terms of equality; bound together by the ties of common interest, to provide for the safety and prosperity of the whole Empire in general, and of each Nation in particular.

The last objection which I have heard urged against an Incorporating Union, is, that Ireland will be thereby reduced to the condition of a dependent Province. To this it is a full answer, that Ireland, by an Incorporating Union, will become, from a really dependent Province, a part of the British Empire, equally independent with every other part of it; that England and Scotland are Provinces of the British Empire, and Ireland will be a Province no more dependent on any Power whatsoever, than England and Scotland are; all the Provinces of an Empire, such as the British, the very basis of whose Government is political Liberty, are so far dependent, the one on the other, as that they are all obliged to concur in the means for their common preservation, and without such concurrence they would all yield to a foreign Power: in such light, but in no other, are they dependent, the one on the other, for mutual defence and security: and may they ever continue in that sense dependent, and be for ever indissolubly United!

It is worth while now to bestow a little consideration on what will be the fate of Ireland, in case an Incorporating Union be rejected. In the first place it is evident, from the various causes of dispute and animosity between Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting under their present system of precarious and imperfect connection, and from the turbulence, avarice and ambition of some, and the jacobinical, anarchical, revolutionary principles of other agitators, with whom the country is at present cursed; who have falsely assumed, and thereby debased and degraded the title of Patriots; and from the bitter and malignant spirits of a great portion of the lower order of our inhabitants, inspired by the principles of a gloomy, unsociable, unrelenting, sanguinary superstition, that the two Nations cannot be kept together for any considerable time by their present frail and brittle bonds of connection. Separation, therefore, or rather an attempt at separation, from Britain, will be the certain consequence of the rejection of this measure. I will first assume, that a sufficient attempt at separation shall be effected, it must, if at all, be effected by Re-

bellion and the assistance of a French army : the civil war will waste this unhappy country from one extremity to the other ; and exclusive of the miserable slaughter attendant on a civil war, the whole moveable property of the nation, and all its improvements, will be destroyed and ruined, and the successful surviving rebel will have the miserable triumph of subjecting himself and his posterity to the bondage of France, and becoming a member of a wretched, impoverished, democratic Republic, which will itself be a slave to the French democracy.

Ye Protestants of Ireland ! let me call your attention to what will be your lot in such an event. No successful attempt at separation can be made without your assistance and co-operation ; you are now possessed of infinitely the greatest portion of the wealth and property, moveable and immoveable, of the Nation. You will therefore be infinitely the greatest losers by a Rebellion, which will be a gulf to swallow up all property ; you must associate yourselves and be companions in arms with the hungry French assassins, and

murderous crew of United Irishmen; you do not amount to more than one-third of the inhabitants of Ireland, the other two-thirds are your mortal enemies, as well on the score of your religion, as your riches: when you shall have assisted in your own ruin, and separated yourselves from Britain, and concurred in establishing a democratic Irish Republic; when you shall be reduced to the same equality of indigence which in such case must be the lot of all, when perfect equality of beggary is introduced, and the Irish Nation is become the vassal of France, do you expect that you will have any security for your lives? Will the descendants of the Irish murderers in 1641, who massacred in cold blood such multitudes of your ancestors, now double your numbers, and on a level with you in all other respects, and assisted by the sanguinary French robbers in the event of successful Rebellion, abstain from their habits of murder? Does their recent conduct at Scollabogue, at Wexford, at Vinegar-Hill, inspire you with hopes of safety, when they shall have you in their power? As well may the trembling hind, inclosed in the paws of the ravenous

hungry tiger, hope for mercy ! The pike and the
skeine will soon dispatch such of you as may sur-
vive the horrors and miseries of even a successful
Rebellion.

And you, ye deluded Citizens of Dublin !
whom traitors have found means to detach from
your true interests, have you ever considered
what is to be the unavoidable fate of your City
in case of a separation from Great Britain—
which, as I have already stated, can never be
effected except by rebellion and desolation ?
Even one year's war between Great Britain and
Ireland would annihilate your trade, as well as
the trade of the whole Eastern coast of Ireland.—
The naval force of Liverpool alone, which in the
war before the present almost annihilated the
trade of France, would completely lock up all
the Irish ports in the Channel, and would not
suffer one ship to sail in or out of them ; and in
case of a separation of the two Countries, as they
would certainly be in a state of almost perpetual
war, whatever trade Ireland would enjoy, and it
could be very little, its Western ports would en-

gross it, and Dublin would be effectually ruined. Such a state of separation, effected by a successful rebellion, would, in fact, in the first place desolate the kingdom, and destroy one-half of its inhabitants; and in the next place would deprive the whole Nation of almost all trade, thereby prevent its recovery, and reduce it to, and keep it in, the most miserable situation that any nation could possibly be reduced to.

All that I have here mentioned would be the inevitable consequences of a successful rebellion, and consequent separation; but what would be the effects of an unsuccessful rebellion in the cause of meditated separation? For it is morally certain that such rebellion and such attempt would be unsuccessful. No person who knows the situation natural and political of Great Britain and Ireland, can deny, that Ireland of itself is unable to cope with Great Britain; even if the inhabitants of Ireland were unanimous: but it is notorious, in case a rebellion was to break out for separation, that the country would be divided, and that before such rebellion could rage for one
year

year, all the Protestants of Ireland, that is, almost the whole property of the kingdom, would find it their interest to join the King's standard. The bloody, remorseless cruelty, and insatiable thirst for plunder, of the rest of their countrymen, would soon convince them of the necessity of using their arms against them. The present feeble state of the French marine, and the exhausted state of that wretched nation in general, would deprive the rebels of any effectual assistance from that quarter. When the whole Irish Nation, (a handful of Protestants in the North of the kingdom excepted) took arms in the year 1688 in favour of King James the Second, and the French Monarch, Louis the Fourteenth, at that time in the zenith of his glory, sent a French army, and an immense supply of military stores to their assistance, and when his navy rode triumphant on the ocean, England reduced the whole kingdom to the most abject submission in two campaigns; and similar would be the event of any Irish Rebellion undertaken in the cause of separation; but it will be attended

with infinite calamity to the inhabitants of Ireland of all descriptions.

WE HAVE NOW OUR CHOICE; whether we will rush on our own ruin, or embrace with joy the measure of an INCORPORATING UNION, the sure pledge of national Happiness, Prosperity, and Security. Unconnected as I am with the Government, or its Ministers, both in England and Ireland, and attached to it only as a good and loyal subject, in spite of clamour and faction, I must express my sincere wish that the Nation may adopt the latter measure. I have long since made my choice;

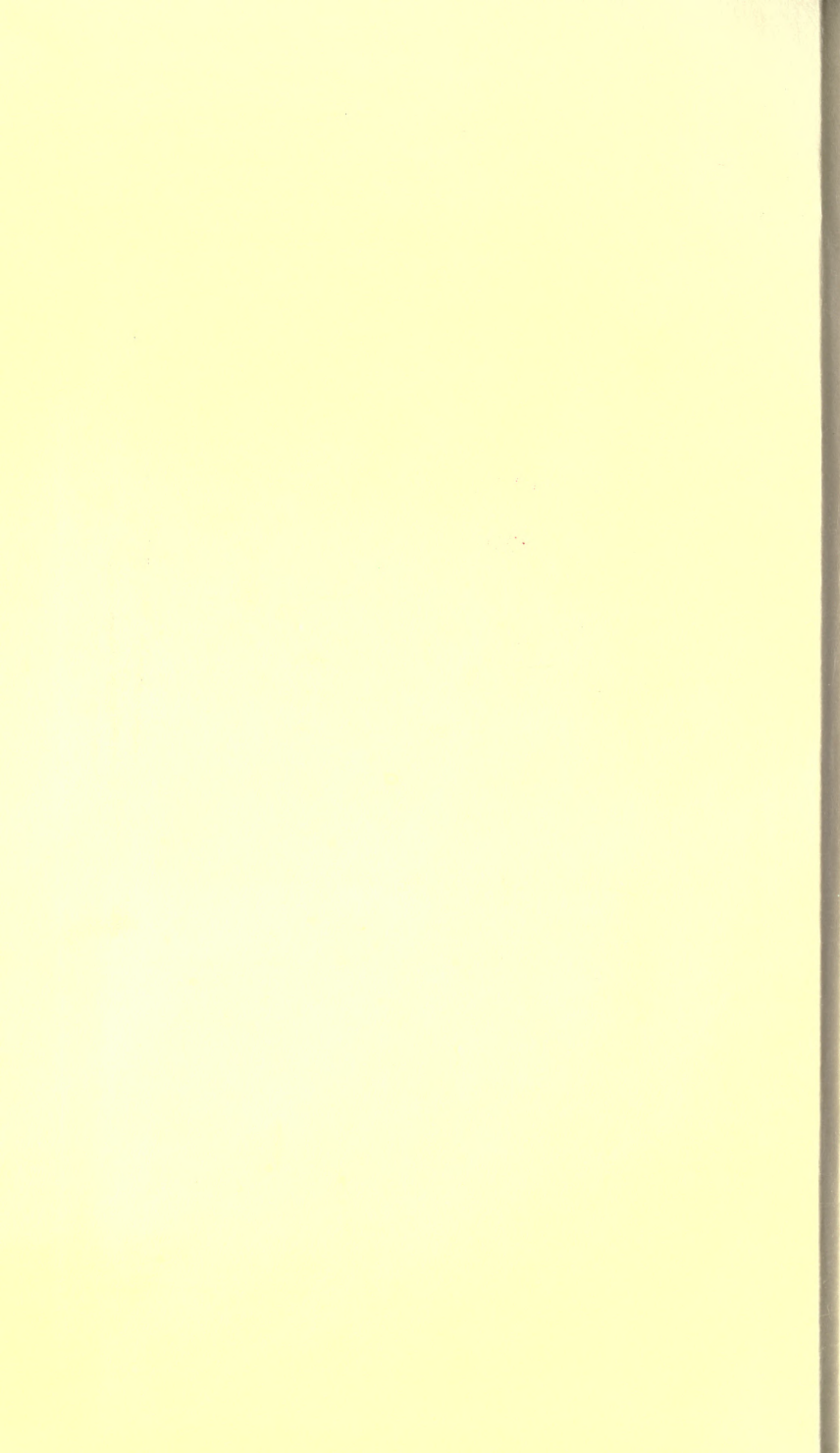
*Non ardor Civium prava jubentium
Mente quatit solidâ.*

THE END.









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